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THE MACDONALDS OF GLENGARRY.

THE
MACDONALDS

OF

GLENGARRY.

BY

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, F.S.A., SCOT.,

EDITOR OF THE "CELTIC MAGAZINE," AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY AND
GENEALOGIES OF THE CLAN MACKENZIE," "THE HISTORY OF THE MAC-
DONALDS AND LORDS OF THE ISLES," "THE PROPHECIES OF THE BRAHAN
SEER," "THE HISTORICAL TALES AND LEGENDS OF THE HIGHLANDS,"
"THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES," ETC., ETC.

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The pages to which reference is made in the text are those of the complete "History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles," by the same Author.

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THE MACDONALDS OF GLENGARRY.

IT has been shown that the Macdonalds of Sleat (though the undoubted male representatives of John, last Lord of the Isles, as well as of Donald, first Earl of Ross of the name of Macdonald, eldest son of John, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of King Robert II. of Scotland), are not and cannot be the chiefs by right of blood of the whole Clan Donald and male representatives of Somerled, Thane of Argyll, while any of the representatives of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his *first* marriage with Amie MacRuari remains. This may now be accepted as a settled point, and one on which all unbiassed authorities are agreed.

It is, however, much more difficult to decide which of the other leading claimants are entitled to that high and distinguished honour.

There is the further difficulty to dispose of as to who is the present representative of the Old Earls of Ross, which title was unquestionably possessed by the Lords of the Isles since the marriage of Donald of Harlaw, second Lord of the Isles, to Lady Mary Leslie, daughter of Euphemia, Countess of Ross. The Earldom of Ross being in favour of heirs-general—a fact placed beyond question by the title having been first brought into the family of Macdonald by marriage with Lady Mary Leslie—it is now almost, if not quite, impossible to decide who the present representative of the ancient but long forfeited Earldom of Ross is. To have enabled this representation to pass into the family of Sleat, it was necessary not only that all

the direct male representatives of Alexander and John, third and last Lords of the Isles and Earls of Ross of the race of Macdonald, should have died out, but the female representatives also. This is by no means a settled point. Indeed, if Gregory and other leading authorities be correct in holding that Celestine of Lochalsh was a legitimate son of Alexander third Earl and eldest brother of John last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, the representation of the Earldom must have passed into the family of Glengarry by the marriage of Margaret (eldest daughter of Alexander of Lochalsh and heiress to her brother, Sir Donald) to Alexander Macdonald, VI. of Glengarry; the other sister Janet, having married Dingwall of Kildun. This is a point which we do not feel called upon to decide. It may, however, be stated that the *male* representation of the old Earldom of Ross has been successfully claimed by Mr. Munro Ross of Pitcalnie, whose claim as heir-male has been sustained by the Court of Session and by the House of Lords. As already stated, however, the honours of the Earldom were not limited to the heirs-male; and, in point of fact, they were carried originally by a female to the family of Macdonald. The representation has also been claimed by the Frasers of Philorth, progenitors of Lord Saltoun, one of whom married Joanna, sister of Euphemia Leslie, Countess of Ross. Several other claimants might be named, but those already mentioned as heirs-general and heirs-male must be disposed of before any claims by later offshoots are debateable.

It is necessary before proceeding further to refer to a claim made to the chiefship of the race of Somerled by the MacAlesters of Loup, a family of note in Argyllshire, now known as Somerville-MacAlesters of Loup and Kennox, the latter place having been acquired by marriage with an heiress, whose name of Somerville the MacAlesters have in consequence added to their own. They claim to be descended from Alexander, "eldest son of Angus Mor Lord of the Isles and Kintyre A.D. 1284, and third in descent from Somerled, Thane of Argyll, the common

ancestor of the Clan Donald and Clan Dugall ; and therefore, according to the Highland principle of clanship, they possess that 'jus sanguinus,' of which no forfeiture could deprive them and are the representatives of the ancient Lords of the Isles, as heirs male of Donald, the grandson of Somerled, from whom came the Clan Donald." In point of fact, however, Alexander, the progenitor of the MacAlesters, was not the "eldest son of Angus Mor," but his younger brother, and uncle to "Angus Og" who fought with Bruce at the head of his clan at Bannockburn, and who, on the forfeiture of the MacAlesters for having taken the opposite side under Macdougall of Lorn, succeeded to the forfeited property, not as MacAlester's "elder brother," but as his nephew and chief of the clan, and as a reward in part for his loyal support of the saviour of his country, King Robert the Bruce. The MacAlesters have thus no valid claim to the chiefship of the great Clan Donald, but they are undoubtedly the senior cadets of the race.

John, first Lord of the Isles, married, *first* [see p. 69], Amie, heiress of the MacRuaries of Garmoran and Bute, and by her had three sons (and a daughter, Mary, who married, first Hector Maclean of Duart, and secondly, Maclean of Coll).

1. John, who died before his father, leaving one son, Angus, who died without issue.

2. Godfrey of Uist and Garmoran, whose name appears occasionally throughout the earlier chapters of this work, though really very little is known of his history or that of his descendants ; for scarcely any authentic records remain of the period of Highland history in which they flourished. Godfrey (who was also called Lord of Lochaber) received a charter under the style of Lord of Garmoran in 1388, dated at *his* castle of Ellantirim. We have already seen [p. 74], that his son Alexander of Garmoran, described as as a leader of a thousand men, was beheaded at Inverness by order of King James during his visit to the Highland capital in 1427, when his whole possessions were forfeited to the crown. His only son, also named Alexander, died

in 1460. Macvurich, who records his death, describes him, like his father, as Lord of Uist. The lands of Uist and Garmoran, however, were forfeited, and, as we have already seen, were granted by John, Earl of Ross, to his brother, Hugh of Sleat; but the latter was kept out of possession by the Macdonalds of Clanranald, who, by precept, obtained a grant of the lands in Uist and Benbecula in the year 1505, [See p. 154]. "From this time," Gregory writes, "although there were several descendants of Godfrey still in existence, the tribe fell into decay." Skene says that while Godfrey appears to have for a time maintained his right to his mother's inheritance against the issue of the second marriage of his father, it "was soon extinguished by the failure of heirs-male".* The ground is now so far clear as to enable us to deal with Reginald, third and only remaining son of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amie MacRuari of Garmoran, whose male issue, so far as can be traced, survives. We shall therefore designate him

VIII. REGINALD, OR RANALD,

Eighth chief of the race of Somerled, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Glengarry and of all the Macdonalds known as Clanranalds, or Clann Raonuil; *i.e.*, descendants of Ranald or Reginald. When the arrangement already described (pp. 56-58) was made on the marriage of the first Lord of the Isles with Margaret Stewart, Ranald received a large grant of lands, including the North Isles, Garmoran and other extensive possessions, to hold of his father John, Lord of the Isles, and his heirs of the second marriage, as a reward for falling in with the scheme, while his eldest brother, Godfrey, stoutly opposed it. This arrangement seemed more advantageous to Ranald as a younger son of the first marriage, the offspring of which had to fight for their possessions against the combined power of their father and of the ruling monarch in the interest of the sons of the second marriage. And Ranald proved himself

* Celtic Scotland, vol. iii., p. 295.

afterwards a man of great integrity and honour as tutor or guardian to his younger brother Donald, second Lord of the Isles, during his minority. He took a leading part in the government of the Isles during the life of his father, and was left in charge of the Lordship after his father's death, until Donald, the eldest son by the second marriage, became of age, when Ranald delivered over to him the government of the Lordship in presence of the leading vassals, very much against the wishes of the common people of the Isles, who still continued to look upon Godfrey, Ranald's eldest brother, as the rightful heir and head of the family.

We have now arrived at a stage where we can no longer avoid discussing the question of the chiefship of the whole clan. From what has been already said it must be clear to the impartial reader, that the chiefship by right of blood cannot be in the family of Sleat, while any legitimate male descendant of the issue of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amie MacRuari of Garmoran, survives. There remains, however, still staring us in the face, the other question, upon which so much ink and temper have been wasted. We sincerely wish we could pass it over, but that, in a work like this, is quite impossible. The question is a most difficult one. We have carefully perused the whole controversy which has taken place, sixty years ago, between the families of Glengarry and Clanranald, as well as the respective genealogies published by both claimants, and certain facts which have been proved appear to us, in the absence of further evidence, quite insurmountable.

Skene, undoubtedly one of the best living authorities on such a question, devotes considerable space to the discussion of the point, and he deals with it so clearly and concisely that we shall quote him at length. We may, however, point out that Skene is occasionally found tripping—and he does so in this very connection; for we find him confusing the famous Donald Balloch of Isla, son and successor to John Mor Tanistear (second son of the first

Lord of the Isles by Margaret Stewart), with Donald, first of the family of Glengarry. Discussing the question of the much contested chiefship of the race of Somerled and Conn, he sums up thus :—"While it is fully admitted that the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of the last Lord of the Isles, yet if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan took its name, or even of John of the Isles in the reign of David II., are to be held as forming one clan, it is plain that, according to the Highland principles of clanship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship, lay unquestionably in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. John of the Isles had, by Amy, the daughter of Roderick of the Isles, three sons, John, Godfrey, and Ranald, of whom the last only left descendants, and from whom the Clan Ranald unquestionably derive their origin. By the daughter of Robert II. John had four sons, Donald, Lord of the Isles, from whom came the Macdonalds of Sleat; John Mor, from whom the Macdonalds of Kintyre; Alaster, the progenitor of Keppoch; and Angus.

"In this question, therefore, there are involved two subordinate questions which have given rise to considerable disputes. First, was Amy, the daughter of Roderic of the Isles, John's legitimate wife, and were the sons of that marriage John's legitimate heirs? And secondly, if the sons of the first marriage are legitimate, who is the Chief of the Clan Ranald, the only clan descended from that marriage? With regard to the first point, there are two documents which place it beyond all doubt that Amy was John's lawful wife. The first of these is a dispensation from the Pope in 1337 to John, son of Angus of the Isles, and Amy, daughter of Roderic of the Isles. The second is the treaty between John and David II. in 1369, in which the hostages are 'Donaldum filium meum ex filia domini senescali Scotiæ genitum Angusium filium quondam Johannis filii mei et Donaldum quemdam alium filium meum *naturalem*'. John had by Amy three sons, John, Godfrey, and Ranald, and the distinction made in the above passage between

John 'filius meus,' and Donald *filius meus naturalis*, proves that this family were legitimate. But it is equally clear that the children of this marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs. When Robert II., in pursuance of the policy which he had adopted, persuaded John to make the children of the two marriages feudally independent of each other, it was effected in this manner. John received charters of certain of his lands containing a special destination to the heir of the marriage with the King's daughter, while he granted a charter of another portion of his lands, consisting of the lordship of Garmoran, part of Lochaber, and some of the Isles, among which was that of Uist, to Reginald, one of the children of the first marriage, to be held of John's lawful heirs, and this charter was confirmed by the king. That a special destination was necessary to convey part of John's possessions to the children of the second marriage is in itself a strong presumption that they were not his feudal heirs, and from the terms of Reginald's charter it is manifest that he must, on John's death, have held his lands of the person universally acknowledged to be the feudal heir of the Lord of the Isles. This person, however, was his brother Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, for in a charter to the Abbey of Inchaffray, dated 7th July, 1389, he designates himself '*Dominus de Uist,*' and dates his charter '*Apud Castrum meum de Ylantirum,*' both of which are included in Reginald's charter. Moreover it appears that he was succeeded in this by his son Alexander, for when James II. summoned a Parliament at Inverness, to which those only who held their lands in chief of the crown, were bound to attend, and when, from the state of the country at the time, it is apparent that no one would appear who could on any ground excuse his absence, we find among those who obeyed the summons, Alexander Maccreury de Garmoran. Maccreury and Macgorry, or son of Godfrey, held the lordship of Garmoran in chief of the crown. We find, however, that the rest of Reginald's lands were equally held of this Alexander, for Reginald's charter included a

considerable part of Lochaber, and in the year 1394 an indenture was entered into between the Earl of Moray and Alexander de Insulis dominus de Lochaber, for the protection of certain lands in Morayshire. We thus see that when it was intended that the eldest son of the second marriage should hold his lands of the crown, a special destination to him was requisite, that a charter of certain lands was given to Reginald to be held of John's feudal heirs, and that these very lands were held in chief of the crown by Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, and by his son Alexander. It is therefore plain that the actual effect of Robert the Second's policy was to divide the possessions of his formidable vassals into two distinct and independent feudal lordships, of which the *Dominium de Garmoran et Lochaber* was held by the eldest son of the first marriage, and the *Dominium Insularum* by the eldest son of the second marriage; and in this state they certainly remained until the fatal Parliament of 1427, when the Lord of Garmoran was beheaded and his estates forfeited to the crown.

"The policy of James I. induced him then to reverse the proceedings of his predecessor Robert, and he accordingly concentrated the Macdonald possessions in the person of the Lord of the Isles, but this arbitrary proceeding could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal representation of the chiefs of the Clan Donald, which now, on the failure of the issue of Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, unquestionably devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage.

"Of the descent of the Clan Ranald there is no doubt whatever, nor has it ever been disputed that they derive their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, a son of John, Lord of the Isles, by Amy MacRory. Ranald obtained, as we have seen, from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey, and these were the same territories which the Clan Ranald possessed, as appears from the Parliamentary Records in 1587, when

mention is made of the 'Clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry'. There has, however, arisen considerable doubt which of the various families descended from Ranald anciently possessed the chiefship, and without entering in this place into an argument of any great length on the subject, we shall state shortly the conclusions to which we have been led after a rigid examination of that question.

"That the present family styling themselves 'of Clanranald' were not the ancient chiefs there can be no doubt, as it is now a matter of evidence that they are descended from a *bastard* son of a second son of the old family of Moydart, who assumed the title of Captain of Clanranald in 1531, and as long as the descendants of the elder brother remain, they can have no claim by right of blood. The point we are to examine is, who was the chief previous to that assumption ?

"Ranald had five sons, of whom three only left issue, viz., Donald, from whom descended the family of Knoydart and Glengarry, Allan, the ancestor of the family of Moydart, and Angus, from whom came the family of Moror. That the descendants of Angus were the youngest branch, and could have no claim to the chiefship, has never been disputed, and the question accordingly lies between the descendants of Donald and Allan. The seniority of Donald, however, is distinctly proved by the fact that on the extinction of the family of Moror, the family of Moydart succeeded legally to that property ; consequently by the law of Scotland they must have been descended from a younger son than the family of Knoydart and Glengarry, and it follows of necessity that the latter family must have been that of the chief.

"Donald had three sons, John, Alaster, and Angus. On the forfeiture of Alexander Macgorry of Garmoran in 1427, that part of Lochaber possessed by him was granted to the Earl of Mar, while all those lands held of him by the Clan Ranald remained in the crown, and consequently the chief of Clan Ranald must have held them as crown

vassal.* Accordingly we find John, the eldest son of Donald, holding his lands of the crown, as appears from a gift of the non-entries of Knoydart to Cameron since the decease of Umq^{bl}. John MacRanald,† and this sufficiently indicates his position at the head of the clan, as, if he had not been chief, he would have held his lands of the Moydart family. John appears by another charter to have died in 1467, and in 1476 the lands of Garmoran were included in a crown charter to John, Lord of the Isles. The Lords of the Isles had invariably manifested the most inveterate hostility to the rival family of Garmoran and their supporters. On the acquisition of Lochaber by Alexander, Lord of the Isles, after his release from prison, this animosity displayed itself in the proscription of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, MacMartins of Letterfinlay, and others who were always faithful adherents of the patriarchal chief of the clan. The same animosity was now directed against the Chief of Clan Ranald; his lands of Knoydart appear to have been given to Lochiel, the lands of South Moror, Arisaig, and many of the isles, were bestowed on Hugh of Slait, the brother of the Lord of the Isles, and in this way the principal branch of the Clan Ranald was reduced to a state of depression from which it did not soon recover. To this proscription there was but one exception, viz., the family of Moydart, who alone retained their possessions, and, in consequence, on the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, they did not hesitate to avail themselves of their situation, and place themselves at the head of the clan, a proceeding to which the representative of the ancient chiefs was not in a situation to

* Not only did the Chief of Clan Ranald hold these lands of the crown, as he had previously held them of Alexander MacGorry, but it actually appears that the Lord of the Isles was his vassal in some of them, for Alexander, Lord of the Isles, grants a charter to the ancestor of the Macneils, dated in 1427, of the Island of Barra, and of the lands of Boisdale in the Island of Uist, both of which islands are included in Reginald's charter, and one of which was, as we have seen, certainly held in chief of the Crown by the heir of the *first* marriage.

† That this John MacRanald was John, the eldest son of Donald, appears from two facts; first, his lands adjoin those of Alaster, the second son, and are separated by them from those of the other branches of the clan. Second, on the failure of his descendants, the descendants of Alaster succeeded to them.

offer any resistance. This was principally effected by John, surnamed Mudortach, a bastard son of the brother of the Laird of Moydart; but the character of the usurpation is sufficiently marked by the title of *Captain* of Clan Ranald, which alone he assumed, and which his descendants retained until the latter part of the last century, when the Highland title of Captain of Clan Ranald was most improperly converted into the feudal one of Macdonald of Clan Ranald. At the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, the family of Knoydart and Glengarry consisted of two branches termed respectively 'of Knoydart,' and 'of Glengarry,' of which the former was the senior; and while the senior branch never recovered from the depressed state to which they had been reduced, the latter obtained a great accession of territory, and rose at once to considerable power by a fortunate marriage with the heiress of the Macdonalds of Lochalsh. During the existence of the senior branch, the latter acknowledged its head as their chief, but on their extinction which occurred soon after the usurpation by the family of Moydart, the Glengarry branch succeeded to their possessions, and as representing Donald, the eldest son of Ranald, the founder of the clan, loudly asserted their right to the chiefship, which they have ever since maintained.

"As the Moydart family were unwilling to resign the position which they had acquired, this produced a division of the clan into two factions, but the right of the descendants of Donald is strongly evinced by the above fact of the junior branch acknowledging a chief during the existence of the senior, and only maintaining their right to that station on its extinction, and by the acknowledgment of the chiefship of the Glengarry family constantly made by the Macdonalds of Keppoch and other branches of the clan, who had invariably followed the patriarchal chiefs in preference to the rival family of the Lords of the Isles.

"These few facts, which are necessarily given but very concisely, are, however, sufficient to warrant us in concluding that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry,

was Ranald's eldest son ; that from John, Donald's eldest son, proceeded the senior branch of this family, who were chiefs of Clan Ranald ; that they were from circumstances, but principally in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the Lord of the Isles, so completely reduced that the oldest cadet, as usual in such cases, obtained the actual chiefship, with the title of captain, while on the extinction of this branch, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry, descended from Alaster, Donald's second son, became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently possessed that right of blood to the chiefship of which no usurpation, however successful, could deprive them. The family of Glengarry have since then not only claimed the chiefship of the Clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole Clan Donald, as undoubted representatives of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan ; and when the services rendered by the family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by a peerage from Charles II., Glengarry indicated his rights by assuming the title of Lord Macdonnell and Arros, which on the failure of male heirs of his body, did not descend to his successors, although his lands formed in consequence the barony of Macdonell."*

Reginald married a daughter of Walter Stewart, Earl of Athol, brother of King Robert II., and by her had issue—

1. Donald, immediate progenitor of the family of Glengarry.

2. Allan, first of the family of Clanranald, of whom hereafter.

3. John, known among the Highlanders as "Ian Dall," or Blind John, who possessed lands in the Island of Eigg, and from whom the Macdonalds of Bornish descended.

4. Angus. 5. Dugall. 6. A daughter Mora.

He is said to have died, a very old man, in 1419, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

* Highlanders of Scotland, vol. ii., pp. 96-106.

IX. DONALD MACRANALD,

Second of the line of Glengarry. Little or nothing is known of him, which may be accounted for from the fact stated by Gregory, namely, that on the death of Ranald, "his children, then young, were dispossessed by their uncle Godfrey, who assumed the title of Lord of Uist (which, with Garmoran, he actually possessed), but never questioned the claims of Donald to the Lordship of the Isles."* On the execution and forfeiture of Alexander, the son and successor of Godfrey, in 1427, at Inverness, the lands of Glengarry reverted to the crown, and were held as a royal forest, or appanage of Inverlochy Castle—then a royal residence. At the same time the Macdonalds of Glengarry were crown tenants, and they ultimately succeeded in obtaining a crown charter to the lands of which they were dispossessed by their feudal superior, Godfrey of Garmoran.

Donald married, first, Laleve, daughter of Macivor, and by her had one son,

1. John, his successor.

He married, secondly, "a daughter of Macimmie"† (Lovat), by whom he had—

2. Alastair; and 3, Angus Og.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. JOHN MACDONALD,

Third of Glengarry, who married a daughter of Macleod of Lewis, with issue—a son,

XI. ALASTAIR MACDONALD,

Fourth of Glengarry, from whom the family take their Gaelic patronymic of "Mac 'ic Alastair," and who is the first of the family of Glengarry whose name is found in the public records; and that only as the grandfather of his

* Highlands and Isles, p. 31.

† MS. of 1450, printed in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

grandson mentioned in a commission of Lieutenancy by the crown in favour of Colin, Earl of Argyll, making him "Locum tenentum omnium insularum tam australium quam borealium," and of certain lands—among others, "*Alterius MOROR quam Alester Makcane MAKALESTER habet*," dated 8th of March, 1516;* that is, Alastair, son of John, son of Alastair, the last named being our present subject. The Moror here named is North Moror. On the 26th of February, 1517, he appears in an action in the Court of Session as "*Alexander Jhone MACALISTERIS sone in GLENGARRY*."† He is repeatedly mentioned later, as we shall see further on.

He married the only daughter of Hector Maclean of Duart, by whom he had issue—

1. John, his heir.
2. Æneas, of whom the family of Sithean.
3. John "Odhar," who settled in Lochcarron, and of whom the Clann Ian Uidhir of that district, Strathglass, and elsewhere in the North, some of whom have changed their names to MacNairs. Most of the Strathglass Macdonalds emigrated to Canada, principally to Nova-Scotia.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XII. JOHN MACDONALD,

Fifth of Glengarry, who married his cousin, a daughter of Donald Cameron of Lochiel, by a daughter of Hector Mor Maclean of Duart, with issue—one son, who succeeded as,

XIII. ALEXANDER MACDONALD,

Sixth of Glengarry, whom we find mentioned as "Allastyr Mac Ean Vic Allyster of Morvern and Glengarrie," in a bond of manrent to Colin, Earl of Argyll, the King's

* Reg. Sec. Sig., Lib. 5, fo. 192.

† Acts Dom. Con., Lib. 12, fol. 2 b.

Lieutenant at the time over the district in which Glengarry's property lay, dated 5th of February, 1519, with a Notarial Instrument thereon, dated 8th of August in the same year. Under date of 30th March, 1538, there is recorded in the Register of the Privy Council, vol. 26, No. 426, a letter under the Privy Seal to "Alexander Mackane MacAlester of Glengarry," of the Slysmyrne of Glengarry and Moror, "wyt all malis, fermes, proffitis, and dewteis of ye saide lands wyt yare pertinents of all yeris and terms bigane yat ye samin hes been in our soverane lordis handis or his predecessoris by resoune of nonentres sen ye deceis of John MacAlastir, fader to ye saide Alexander, or his predecessoris." On the 6th of March in the same year there is a charter under the Great Seal in favour of "Alexander Mackane MacAlister et Margarete Ylis ejus spouse" in liferent; "et Angusio MacAlister eorum filio et heredi apparenti" in fee, and his heirs male, of the lands of Glengarry and Moror, with the Castle, Fortalice, and Manor of Strome, half of Lochalsh, Lochbroom, &c., &c., proceeding on the resignation of Alexander and Margaret of Lochalsh. In the controversy between Glengarry and Clanranald about the chiefship of the clan, the Clanranald champion made strong aspersions on the character of this lady, whom he erroneously described as, and confused with, a *daughter* of Celestine of Lochalsh. For the charge there is not a vestige of foundation. She was a *grand-daughter* of Celestine, a daughter of his son and successor, Alexander, and sister and co-heiress of Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, who died, without issue, in 1518, when she succeeded, as eldest daughter of Sir Alexander, and co-heiress of his only son, Sir Donald Gallda, to one-half of his estates. These she carried to her husband, Alexander of Glengarry, and in consequence, secured for him a position of great influence and power.

On the 26th of February, 1515, Grant of Freuchy obtained a decree against Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, Chisholm of Comar, *Alexander John Ranaldson's son in Glengarry*, Donald Mac Angus More in Achadrom, and

others, "for the wrongous and violent spoliation and takand of the fortalice of Urquhart, frae the said John the Grant, and for £2000 as the value thereof."

He married, as already stated, Margaret de Insulis and Lochalsh, co-heiress of Sir Donald (Gallda) Macdonald of Lochalsh, and, according to the best authorities, lineal representative and heiress to the forfeited Earldom of Ross, with issue—an only son, who succeeded as,

XIV. ÆNEAS MACDONALD,

Seventh of Glengarry. He has a charter under the Great Seal* confirming "Honorabili viro Angusio Mac Alester filio ac heredi apparenti *quondam* Alexandri Mackane de Glengarie suisque heredibus masculis de corpore, &c., omnes et singulas terras de Glengarie, necnon terras Drynathane insulum de Sleichmeine duodecim mercatus terrarum antiqui extentus de Morare duodecim mercatus terrarum antiqui extentus de Locheache, viz., Inchnarine, Andenarra, Sallachie, &c., &c.—quatour mercatus terrarum de Lochcarron"—&c., &c., which had been apprised from him by John Grant of Freuchy, dated 19th July, 1574. Complaint was made to the Privy Council by the widow of Robert Guidlett, a mariner in Kinghorn, that her "spous being at the fischeing the last yeir in the North Ilis, at the loch callit Lochstrone, within the dominion of Anguss McAlexander of Glengarry, wes in the hinderend of harvist last bipast crewallie set upoun and slane be — Panter and utheris his complices," all of whom were within the dominions of Angus, and were his tenants. Angus was ordained of his own consent to affix and hold courts as often as need be within his bounds and dominions in the west, and put the "committaris of the said cryme to the knowledge of ane assyiss of the merchandis and marynaris that first sall happin to arrive at Lochstrone or Lochcarron at the next fischeing," and he is to minister justice upon

* Reg. Sec. Sig., Lib. ii., fo. 62 b.

them, if found culpable or innocent, conform to the laws of the realm.*

Æneas married, first, Janet, only daughter of Hector Og Maclean of Duart, with issue—an only son,

1. Donald, his heir.

He married, secondly, Margaret Macleod, daughter of Roderick Macleod, "King's Baron of Herries," with issue—

2. Margaret, who married one of the Cuthberts of Castlehill, Inverness, and became the progenitrix of the famous Colbert, Charles, Marques of Seignelay, Minister of Lewis XIV. of France.†

He married, thirdly, Mary, daughter of Kenneth-na-Cuirc, X. of Kintail, with issue, a daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, with issue Mary, his third wife, survived Angus, and married, as her second husband, Chisholm of Comar.

He was succeeded by his only son,

XV. DONALD MACDONALD,

Eighth of Glengarry, who has a charter under the Great Seal as "Donaldo MacAngus MacAlister filio et heredi apparenti Angusii MacAllester de Glengarrrie—et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreandis," &c.—of the lands of Glengarry, "Drynathane, insula de Sleuchmeine," &c., proceeding upon the resignation of Angus, dated 19th of July, 1574.‡ He was known among the Highlanders as *Domhnall Mac Aonghais mhic Alastair* (Donald, son of Angus, son of Alastair), and styled "of Morar, Knoydart, and Glengarry". He has a Special Retour before the Sheriff-Depute of the County of Inverness, by a Respectable Inquest, dated 5th November, 1584, in the following terms:—"Qui Jurati Dicunt quod quondam

* This Commission is dated "At Holyrood-house, 16th July, 1574," and is given at length, pp. 100-101, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

† Parliamentary Warrant for the Bore Brieve of Charles, Marques Seignelay, 1686.

‡ Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. 34, No. 110.

Margareta Ylis *avia* Donaldi MacAngus MacAlester de Glengarrrie latoris presentium obiit ultimo restitus et saisitus ut de feodo ad pacem Matris supremi Domini nostri de omnibus et singulis terris de dimidietate terrarum de Achiult et dimidietate terrarum de Torrurdane cum piscariis, &c. Et quod dictus Donaldus de Glengarrrie *est Legitimus et Propinquior hæres quondam Margarete Ylis avie sue*, &c.*

He has a General Retour at Edinburgh, under date of 27th April, 1629, before the Sheriff-Deputes of the county and a "distinguished" jury, among whom we find the names of the direct male ancestors of the chiefs of Sleat and of Clanranald of Castletirrim as "principal members," expressly swearing to the legitimacy of Celestine of the Isles and Lochalsh, and to the descent of Glengarry from him and from John, last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, through this Donald, and, of course, through Margaret of the Isles and Lochalsh. Yet the modern representatives of Sleat and Clanranald of Moydart maintained, sixty years ago, the very opposite to this, and would have us believe that their own ancestors, who lived at a time when they had far better means of knowing the facts than their modern representatives, committed perjury when their own interests were altogether in the opposite direction—against the establishment of Glengarry's claim to represent, through Margaret of the Isles and Celestine her grandfather, the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles. The finding of this distinguished jury and of the chiefs of Sleat and Clanranald in 1629,† is as follows:—"Qui Jurati Dicunt quod quondam Celestine de Ylis de Lochelche Frater quondam Joannis Comitis de Ros Domini de Ylis Abavus Donaldi MacAngus de Glengarrrie obiit, &c. Et quod dictus Donaldus MacAngus lator presentium est Legitimus et propinquior Hæres ejusdem quondam Celes-

* Original in the Registers of Chancery.

† "Dominum Donaldum McDonald de Slait, Joannem McLaud de Dunnyvagine, Joannem McRanald de Yllantyrin," are the first three on the list of jurors.

tini de Ylis de Lochelche sui abavi.”* We have already referred to the charge of licentiousness made by the Clanranald champion, in the controversy of sixty years ago, against this Margaret of the Isles. He has clearly confused her with her aunt, another Margaret of the Isles, a daughter of Celestine, who behaved so badly as to call at the time for the interposition of the crown. The above-quoted documents, however, conclusively prove to those who require proof that the progenitrix of Glengarry was quite a different person and could not be the Margaret of doubtful character who is admitted by all parties—even by the champion of Clanranald—to have been a *daughter* of Celestine, while the Margaret who married Glengarry was his *grand-daughter*.

In “Also a Fiar Raonuillich’s” third letter to the editor of the “Inverness Journal,” dated 27th May, 1818, in defence of Clanranald of Castletirrim, he says:—“I shall refer to the Privy Seal Record, where, on the 8th of September, 1507, there will be found a letter to the Earl of Huntly, stating that the king had given to Margaret, the sister of Alexander of the Isles of Lochguelch, Knight, certain lands during pleasure—that Margaret had ‘applyit and subjectit her persone, lands, and gudes, quhether in lauchful marriage or otherwise, we know not, to Donald Mac Arle MacLauchlane Dowe’. Now, the designation of Margaret in this deed points her out, beyond a doubt, to be Celestine’s *daughter and sister of Alexander*, designated of Lochalsh.” After quoting other deeds to the same effect, he adds—“On perusing the above documents, it must strike every person, 1st, that Margaret *the sister of Alexander*, was not married in September, 1507, but rather seems to have lived in open adultery, so glaring as to call the particular attention of the crown; and that this Margaret was afterwards Glengarry’s wife cannot be doubted, when her designation is attended to, which is ‘*sister of Alexander of the Isles of Lochguelch*,’ &c.” It has been already proved that this woman was not afterwards Glengarry’s wife, but

* Original in Registers of Chancery.

her niece, a lady of the same name, was, and no reflection that we can trace was ever cast upon her character. In another letter the Castletirrim champion states that the lady "was the grand-niece of Celestine and the daughter of Angus, the bastard son of John, last Earl of Ross attainted, . . . and this fair lady appears, from a document dated 8th September, 1507, by King James to the Earl of Huntly, 'to have subjected her person, land, and gudes, quhether in lauchful marriage or otherwayes we know not, to Donald Mack Arle Mack Lachlane Dowe'." From these two quotations it will be seen that the same writer makes her at one and the same time the daughter and grand-niece of Celestine of Lochalsh; and this is but one specimen of many extraordinary feats which he performs throughout the bitter controversy in which he was so long engaged in the interest of Clanranald against Glengarry.

There is a case recorded in Durie's Decisions, under date of 26th February, 1650 (Glengarry against Munro of Fowlis), and another dated 4th of February, 1531 (Glengarry against Lord Lovat), where Glengarry's title, derived through Celestine of the Isles and Lochalsh, was sustained by the Court of Session expressly as heir to the Lords of the Isles, and the title to pursue in these two actions and sustained by the Court was a transumpt of three charters in favour of Celestine by his brother John, last Earl of Ross. In one of these charters he is called *Carissimus Frater*, in the second *Frater Carnalis*, and in the third *Frater Legitimus Carnalis*. We have already given Gregory's opinion of these terms (pp. 88-89), and it is held by those who maintain Celestine's legitimacy that "in those days of Papal influence *carnalis* was contra-distinguished to *spiritualis*—brother laymen and brother churchman." A strong point is made by the Glengarry champion of the General Retour already referred to, by a jury of which Macdonald of Sleat and Macdonald of Clanranald were principal members, and it is fairly argued that "If Celestine had been a bastard, he could not legally, or in any formal

instrument, be designated as the brother of the Earl of Ross, *being the character to be proved*; and as Earl John was attainted and his estate forfeited, no right personal vested in him could be carried by service or succession. It was otherwise with Celestine; he possessed extensive estates, which, though violently usurped by others, were not legally forfeited, and nothing but the plea of proscription and taciturnity prevented the recovery of them, as appears from Lord Durie's collection of adjudged cases, who, sitting as a judge on the bench at a time not very distant from the period of Celestine's succession, could not be ignorant of the circumstances of the case." This is a legal deduction with which we do not feel competent to deal, and only state it for the consideration of those whose training fit them to decide it.

There is an agreement entered into between Angus MacAlester of Glengarry and John Grant of Freuchy, dated at Elgin on the 17th of November, 1571, by which Glengarry binds and obliges himself to cause Donald MacAngus, his son and apparent heir, to solemnize and complete the bond of matrimony in face of holy kirk with Helen Grant, lawful daughter to the said John Grant of Freuchy, betwixt the date above named and the fast of Saint John the Baptist called Midsummer next immediately thereafter. At the same time he agrees to grant to the laird of Freuchy a bond of manrent. Donald MacAngus, however, failed to enter into the agreement made in his behalf, and he refused to marry Helen Grant. The consequences proved serious to Glengarry. In 1548 his lands had been appraised for satisfaction of a previous "spulzie," and sold to James Grant for the sum of £10,770 13s. 4d., and, in 1554, Queen Mary granted to John Grant, Helen's father, and the son and heir of James Grant of Freuchy, "the relief of various lands, including Glengarrie, which belonged to him as heir, and the relief of which belonged to the Queen".* The estates had not passed to Grant in virtue of the above-named appraising, but they were again

* Origines Parochiales, vol. ii., part i., p. 185.

apprised in consequence of Donald's refusal to marry Freuchy's daughter. They are, however, re-granted by Grant to Glengarry by a charter, already quoted, and confirmed by the crown on the 8th of July, 1574. In the contract between himself and Grant, Glengarry, in a bond of manrent, which he agreed to give, makes an exception in favour "of ye auctoritie of our soverane and his Chief of Clanranald only". This is held by Clanranald of Moydart as an acknowledgment by Glengarry of the Captain of Clanranald as his chief. It is impossible to argue this away satisfactorily in the manner attempted by the Glengarry champion in the controversy already referred to. John Moydartach was then at the zenith of his power, and was *de facto* the most powerful and distinguished warrior of the whole Clandonald. Glengarry's power was on the wane, and at this period very limited in comparison with that of his namesake of Clanranald. The necessities of his position might therefore have compelled him—as at a later period the same cause obliged Cluny Macpherson to acknowledge Mackintosh—to own the most distinguished and powerful of his contemporary Macdonald leaders, the Captain of Clanranald, as his chief. In these circumstances, and knowing the man with whom he had to deal, we are not disposed to attach much weight to this one isolated instance of alleged acknowledgment on the part of Glengarry; and especially when it is made in favour of one who could not possibly be chief even of the Clanranalds of Castletirrim, inasmuch as he was beyond question of illegitimate birth. This point is at once disposed of by an entry in the original Record of the Privy Seal in the following terms:

*"Preceptum Legitimationis Johannis MacAlcstar de Casteltirrim bastardi filii naturalis quondam Alexandri MacAlane de Casteltirrim in communi forma etc. Apud Striveling xv Januarrii anno j m v° xxxi (1531).—Per Signetum."**

On the margin is an entry "xs" showing that the usual fee of ten shillings had been paid by the grantee, and it is

* Reg. Sec. Sig. lib. 9, fo. 72 b.

clear from the docquet, "Per Signetum," that it passed the Signet as well as the Privy Seal.

The reign of this Glengarry was an exceedingly turbulent one. From 1580 to 1603 incessant feuds were carried on between the family and the Mackenzies, with the usual depredations and slaughters on both sides. These originally arose out of disputes between the two families regarding Strome Castle and the other property in Lochcarron and Lochalsh brought to the family of Glengarry by the marriage of Alexander, sixth baron, to Margaret of Lochalsh and the Isles. These lands adjoined those of the Mackenzies in Kintail, Lochalsh, and Lochcarron, and in the then state of society, and the feelings of jealousy which almost invariably existed between the clans, it was easy to find means of disagreements, heated disputes, and quarrels. Angus Og of Glengarry, a desperate and brave warrior, made numerous incursions into the country of the Mackenzies, committing, with his followers, wholesale outrages and murders, which were in their turn revenged by the Kintail men.

The following account of these feuds is founded on old MSS. and the public records. Glengarry and his followers "sorned" on Mackenzie's tenants, not only in those districts in the immediate vicinity of his own property, but also, during their raids from Glengarry, on the outskirts of Kintail, and thus Mackenzie's dependants were continually harrassed by Glengarry's cruelty and ill-usage. His own tenants in Lochalsh and Lochcarron fared little better, particularly the Mathesons in the former, and the Clann Ian Uidhir in the latter—originally the possessors of Glengarry's lands in the district. These tribes, finding themselves in such miserable slavery, though they regularly paid their rents and other dues, and seeing how kindly Mackenzie used the neighbouring tenants, envied their more comfortable state and "abhorred Glengarry's rascality, who would lie in their houses (yea, force their women and daughters) so long as there was any good to be given, which made them keep better amity and correspondence

with Mackenzie and his tenants than with their own master and his followers. This may partly teach how superiors ought always to govern and oversee their tenantry and followers, especially in the Highlands, who are ordinarily made up of several clans, and will not readily underlie such slavery as the Incountry Commons will do."

The first serious outbreak between the Glengarry Macdonalds and the Mackenzies originated thus : One Duncan Mac Ian Uidhir Mhic Dhonnachaidh, known as "a very honest gentleman," who, in his early days, lived under Glengarry, and was a very good deerstalker and an excellent shot, often resorted to the forest of Glasletter, then the property of the Mackenzies of Gairloch, where he killed many of the deer. Some time afterwards, Duncan was, in consequence of certain troubles in his own country, obliged to leave it, and he, with all his family and goods, took up his quarters in Glen Affric, close to the forest. Soon after, he went, accompanied by a friend, to the nearest hill, and commenced his favourite pursuit of deerstalking. Mackenzie's forester perceiving him, and knowing him as an old poacher, cautiously walked up to him, came upon him unawares and demanded that he should at once surrender himself and his arms. Duncan, finding that Gairloch's forester was accompanied by only one gillie, "thought it an irrecoverable affront that he and his man should so yield, and refused to do so on any terms, whereupon the forester being ill-set, and remembering former abuses in their passages," he and his companion instantly killed the poachers, and buried them in the hill. Fionnla Dubh Mac Dhomh'uill Mhoir, and Donald Mac Ian Leith, a native of Gairloch, were suspected of the crime, but it was never proved against them, though they were both repeatedly put on their trial by the barons of Kintail and Gairloch.

About two years after the deed was committed, Duncan's bones were discovered by one of his friends who continued most diligently to search for him. The Macdonalds always suspected foul play, and this being now placed beyond question by the discovery of the victims, a party of them

started, determined to revenge the death of their clansmen ; and, arriving at Inchlochell, in Glenstrathfarrar, then the property of Rory Mor of Redcastle, they found Duncan Mac Ian Mhic Dhomh'uill Mhoir, a brother of the suspected Finlay Dubh, without any fear of approaching danger, busily engaged ploughing his patch of land, whom they at once attacked and killed. The celebrated Rory Mor, hearing of the murder of his tenant, at once despatched a messenger to Glengarry to demand redress and the punishment of the assassins, but Glengarry refused. Rory determined to have satisfaction, and resolved, against the counsel of his friends, to have retribution for this and previous injuries as best he could. Having thus determined, he immediately sent for his trusted friend, Dugall Mackenzie of Applecross, to consult with him as to the best mode of procedure to ensure success.

Macdonald at the time lived in the Castle of Strome, Lochcarron, and, after consultation, the two Mackenzies resolved to use every means in their power to capture him, or some of his nearest relatives. For this purpose Dugall suggested a plan by which he would, he thought, induce the unsuspecting Glengarry to meet him on a certain day at Kishorn. Rory Mor, to avoid any suspicion, would start at once for Lochbroom, under cloak of attending to his interests there ; and if Glengarry agreed to meet Dugall at Kishorn, he would immediately send notice of the day to Rory. No sooner had Dugall arrived at home than he despatched a messenger to Glengarry to inform him that he had matters of great importance to communicate to him, and that he wished, for that purpose, to meet him on any day which he might deem suitable.

Day and place were soon arranged, and Dugall at once sent a messenger, as arranged, with full particulars of the proposed meeting to Rory Mor, who instantly gathered his friends, the Clann Allan, and marched along with them to Lochcarron. On his arrival, he had a meeting with Donald Mac Ian Mhic Ian Uidhir, and Angus Mac Eachainn, both of the Clann Ian Uidhir, and closely allied

to Glengarry by blood and marriage, and living on his lands ; "Yet notwithstanding this alliance, they, fearing his, and his rascality's further oppression, were content to join Rory in the plot ". The appointed day having arrived, Glengarry and his lady (a daughter of the Captain of Clan Ranald, he having previously, it is said, sent away the daughter of the laird of Grant) came by sea to Kishorn. He and Dugall Mackenzie having conferred together for a considerable time discussing matters of importance to each other as neighbours, Glengarry took his leave, but while being convoyed to his boat, Dugall suggested the impropriety of his going home by sea in such a clumsy boat, when he had only a distance of two miles to walk, and if he did not suspect his own inability to make the lady comfortable for the night, he would be glad to provide for her and see her home safely next morning. Macdonald declined the proffered hospitality to his lady ; sent her home by the boat, accompanied by four of his followers, and told Dugall that he would not endanger the boat by overloading, but that he and the remainder of his gentlemen and followers would go home on foot.

Rory Mor had meanwhile placed his men in ambush in a place called Glaic nan Gillean. Glengarry and his train, on their way to Strome Castle, came upon them without the slightest suspicion, when they were suddenly surrounded by Rory's followers, and called upon to surrender. Seeing this, one of the Macdonalds shot an arrow at Rory, which fixed in the fringe of his plaid, when his followers, thinking their leader had been mortally wounded, furiously attacked the Macdonalds ; but Rory commanded his friends, under pain of death, to save Glengarry's life, who, seeing he had no chance of escape, and hearing Rory's orders to his men, threw away his sword, and ran into Rory's arms, begging that his life might be spared. This was at once granted to him, but not a single one of his men escaped from the infuriated followers of Rory Mor, who started the same night, taking Glengarry along with him, to Lochbroom.

Even this did not satisfy the cruel disposition of Donald

Mac Ian Mhic Ian Uidhir and Angus Mac Eachainn, who had an old grudge against their chief, Glengarry, his father having some time previously evicted their father from a davoch of land in Attadale, Lochcarron, to which they claimed a right. They, under silence of night, gathered all the Clann Ian Uidhir, and proceeded to Arinaskaig and Dalmartin, where lived at the time three uncles of Glengarry—Gorrie, Rory, and Ronald—whom they, with all their retainers, killed on the spot. "This murder was undoubtedly unknown to Rory or any of the Mackenzies, though alleged otherwise; for as soon as his nephew, Colin of Kintail, and his friends heard of this accident, they were much concerned, and would have him (Rory) set Glengarry at liberty; but all their persuasions would not do till he was secured of him by writ and oath, that he and his would never pursue this accident either legally or illegally, and which, as was said, he never intended to do, till seventeen years thereafter, when, in 1597, the children of these three uncles of Glengarry arrived at manhood," determined, (as will be seen hereafter), to revenge their father's death.*

Gregory, however, says (p. 219) that after his liberation Glengarry complained to the Privy Council, who, investigating the matter; caused the Castle of Strome which Macdonald yielded to Mackenzie as one of the conditions of his release, to be placed under the temporary custody of the Earl of Argyll; and Mackenzie of Kintail was detained at Edinburgh, in what was called open ward, to answer such charges as might be brought against him. This is confirmed by the Records of the Privy Council. In 1586, King James VI. granted a remission to "Colin M'Kainzie of Kintail, and Rodoric M'Kainzie of Auchterfailie (Redcastle and Artafeelie), his brother, for being art and part in the cruel murder of Rodoric M'Allester in Stroll; Gorie M'Allester, his brother, in Stromeraig; Ronnald M'Gorie, the son of the latter; John Roy M'Allane v' Allester, in Pitnean; John Dow M'Allane v' Allester, in Kirktoon of Lochcarroun; Alexander M'Allanroy, servitor of the deceased Rodoric;

* Ancient and Ardintoul MSS.

Sir John Monro in Lochbrume ; John Monro, his son ; John Monro Huchcoun, and the rest of their accomplices, under silence of night, upon the lands of Ardmanichtyke, Dalmartene, Kirkcoun of Lochcarroun, Blahat, and other parts within the baronies of Lochcarroun, Lochbrume, Ros, and Kessane, in the Sheriffdom of Innerness," and for all other past crimes.

In 1597, Alexander MacGorrie and Ranald MacRory, sons of Glengarry's uncles murdered in Lochcarron in 1580, having arrived at maturity, and being brave and intrepid fellows, determined to revenge upon Mackenzie the death of their parents. With this object they went to Applecross, where lived one of the murderers, John Og, son of Angus MacEachainn, surrounded his house, and set fire to it, burning to death himself and his whole family. Kintail sought redress from Glengarry, who, while he did not absolutely refuse, did not grant it, or punish the wrongdoers ; and encouraged by Glengarry's son, Angus, who had now attained his majority, the cousins, taking advantage of Mackenzie's absence, who had gone on a visit to France, continued their depredations and insolence wherever they found opportunity. Besides, they made a complaint against him to the Privy Council, whereupon he was charged at the pier of Leith to appear before the Council on an appointed day under pain of forfeiture. In this emergency, Mr. John Mackenzie, minister of Dingwall, went privately to France in search of his chief, whom he found and brought back in the most secret manner to Edinburgh, fortunately in time to present himself next day before the Council, in terms of the summons at Glengarry's instance ; and, after consulting his legal adviser and other friends, he appeared quite unexpectedly before their Lordships.

Meantime, while the gentlemen were on their way from France, Alexander MacGorrie and Alexander MacRory killed in his bed Donald Mackenneth Mhic Alastair, a gentleman of the family of Davochmaluag, who lived at Kishorn. The shirt, covered with his blood, had been sent

to Edinburgh to await Mackenzie's arrival, who, the same day presented it before the Privy Council, as evidence of the foul crime committed by his accusers. Glengarry was quite unable to prove anything material against Kintail or his followers; but, on the contrary, the Rev. John Mackenzie of Dingwall charged Glengarry with being instrumental in the murder of John Og and his family at Applecross, as also in that of Donald Mackenzie of Davochmaluag, and undertook not only to prove this, but also that he was a sorner, an oppressor of his own and of his neighbours' tenants, an idolator, who had a man in Lochbroom making images, in testimony of which he carried south the image of St. Coan, which Glengarry worshipped, called in Edinburgh Glengarry's God, and which was, by public order, burnt at the Town Cross; that Glengarry was a man who lived in constant adultery, that he had put away the laird of Grant's daughter; whereupon Glengarry was summoned to appear next day before the Council, and to lodge defences. He naturally became alarmed, and fearing the worst, fled from the city during the night, and gave up further legal proceedings against Mackenzie. Being afterwards repeatedly summoned, and failing to put in an appearance, most of the charges were found proven against him; and in 1602,* he was declared outlaw and rebel; a commission of fire and sword was granted to Mackenzie against Glengarry and all his followers, with a decree of ransom for the loss of those who were burnt and plundered by him, and for Kintail's charges and expenses, making altogether a very large sum. But while these legal questions were being arranged, Angus, younger of Glengarry, who was of a restless, daring disposition, went with some of his followers under silence of night to Kintail, burnt the township of Cro, killed and burnt several men, women, and children, and carried away a large spoil.

Mackenzie, decided to requite the quarrel by at once

* Record of Privy Council, 9th September, 1602; Sir Robert Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, p. 248; Letterfearn, Ardintoul, and other MS. Histories of the Mackenzies.

executing his commission against Glengarry, and immediately set out in pursuit, leaving a sufficient number of men at home to secure the safety of his property. He took with him a force of seventeen hundred men, at the same time taking three hundred cows from his farm of Strathbraan to maintain his followers. Ross of Balnagowan sent a party of a hundred and eighty men, under command of Alexander Ross of Invercharron, to aid his neighbour of Kintail, while John Gordon of Embo commanded a hundred and twenty men sent to his aid by the Earl of Sutherland, in virtue of the long standing bond of manrent between the two families ; but, according to our authority, Sir John "retired at Monar, growing faint-hearted before he saw the enemy". Andrew Munro of Novar also accompanied Kintail on this expedition. The Macdonalds, hearing of Mackenzie's approach, drove all their cattle to Morar, where they gathered in strong force to guard them. Kintail, learning this, marched straight where they were ; harried and wasted all the country through which he had to pass ; defeated and routed the Macdonalds, and drove into Kintail the largest booty ever heard of in the Highlands of Scotland, "both of cows, horses, small bestial, duin-uasals, and plenishing, which he most generously distributed amongst his soldiers, and especially amongst such strangers as were with him, so that John Gordon of Embo was at his repentance for his return".

Before starting from home on this expedition, Kintail drove every one of Glengarry's followers out of their holdings in Lochalsh and Lochcarron, except a few of the "Mathewsons and the Clann Ian Uidhir," and any others who promised to submit to him and to prove their sincerity by "imbrowing their hands in the enemy's blood". The Castle of Strome, however, still continued in possession of the Macdonalds.

Mackenzie, after his return home, had not well dissolved his camp when Alexander MacGorrie and Ranald MacRory made an incursion to the district of Kenlochewe, and there meeting some women and children who had fled from Loch-

carron with their cattle, he attacked them unexpectedly, killed many of the defenceless women, all the male children, killed and took away many of the cattle, and "houghed" all they were not able to carry along with them.

In the following autumn, MacGorrie made a voyage to Applecross in a great galley, contrary to the advice of all his friends, who looked upon that place as a sanctuary which all Highlanders had hitherto respected, it being the property of the Church. Notwithstanding that many took refuge in it in the past, he was the first man who ever pursued a fugitive to the place, "but," says our authority, "it fared no better with him or he rested, but he being informed that some Kintail men, whom he thought no sin to kill anywhere," had taken refuge there with their cattle, he determined to kill them, but on his arrival he found only two poor fellows, tending their cows. These he murdered, slaughtered all the cows, and took away as many of them as his boat would carry.

A few days after this Glengarry combined with the Macdonalds of Moydart, the Clann Ian Uidhir, and several others of the Macdonalds, who gathered together amongst them thirty-seven birlinns with the intention of sailing to Lochbroom, and, on their return, to burn and harry the whole of Mackenzie's territories on the west coast. Coming to an arm of the sea on the east side of Kyleakin, called Loch na Beist, opposite Lochalsh, they sent Alexander MacGorrie forward with eighty men in a large galley to examine the coast in advance of the main body. They first landed in Applecross, in the same spot where MacGorrie had previously killed the two Kintail men. Kintail was at the time on a visit to Mackenzie of Gairloch, and hearing of Glengarry's approach and the object of his visit, he ordered all his coasts to be placed in readiness, and sent Alexander Mackenzie of Achilty with sixteen men and eight oarsmen, in an eight oared galley belonging to and in charge of John Tolmach Macleod, to watch the enemy and examine the coast as far as Kylerhea. On their way south they landed by the merest chance at Applecross, on the

north side of the point where MacGorrie landed. Here they noticed a woman gathering shellfish on the shore, and who no sooner saw them than she came and informed them that a great galley had landed in the morning on the other side of the promontory. They at once suspected it to be an advanced scout of the enemy, and, ordering their boat round the point, in charge of the oarsmen, they took the shortest cut across the neck of land, and, when half way over, they met one of Macdonald's sentries lying sound asleep on the ground. He was soon sent to his long rest ; and the Mackenzies, blowing up a set of bagpipes found lying beside him, rushed towards the Macdonalds, who, suddenly surprised and alarmed by the sound of the bagpipes, and thinking a strong force was falling down upon them, fled to their boat, except MacGorrie, who, when he left it, swore a great oath that he would never return with his back to the enemy ; but finding it impossible single-handed to resist them, he retired a little, closely followed by the Mackenzies, who furiously attacked him. He was now forced to draw aside to a rock, against which he placed his back, and fought right manfully, defending himself with extraordinary intrepidity, receiving the enemy's arrows in his targe. He was ultimately wounded by an arrow which struck him under the belt, yet no one dared to approach him ; but John Dubh MacChoinnich Mhic Mhurchaidh noticing his amazing agility, seeing his party had arrived with the boat, and fearing they would lose Glengarry's galley unless they at once pursued it, went round to the back of the rock against which the brave Macdonald stood, carrying a great boulder, which he dropped straight on to MacGorrie's head, instantly killing him. Thus died the most skilful and best chieftain—had he possessed equal wisdom and discretion—then alive among the Macdonalds of Glengarry.

The Mackenzies immediately took to their boat, pursuing Macdonald's galley to Loch na Beist, where, noticing the enemy's whole fleet coming out against them, John Tolmach recommended them to put out to sea ; but finding the fleet

gaining upon them, they decided to land in Applecross, where they were nearly overtaken by the enemy. They were obliged to leave their boat and run for their lives, hotly pursued by the Macdonalds; and were it not that one of Mackenzie's men—John Mac Rory Mhic Mhurchaidh Matthewson—was so well acquainted with the ground, and led them to a ford on the river between two rocks, which the Macdonald's missed, and the night coming on, they would have been quite unable to escape. The Macdonalds retraced their steps to their boats, and on the way discovered the body of Alexander MacGorrie, whose death "put their boasting to mourning," and conceiving his fate ominous of additional misfortunes, they, carrying him along with them, prudently returned home, and disbanded all their followers. The Mackenzies soon arrived at Gairloch's house in Loch Marce, and gave a full account of their expedition, whereupon Kintail immediately decided upon taking further active measures against the Macdonalds. In the meantime he was assured that they had gone to their own country. He soon returned home, and found that the people of Kintail and Glengarry, tiring of incessant slaughters and mutual injuries, agreed, in his absence, in the month of May, to cease hostilities until the following Lammas. Of this agreement Kintail knew nothing; and young Glengarry, against the earnest solicitations of his father, who became a party to the agreement between his people and those of Kintail, started with a strong force to Glenshiel and Letterfearn, while Allan Macdonald of Lundy with another party went to Glenelchaig; harried those places, took away a large number of cattle; killed some of the aged men; several women, and all the male children. They found none of the principal and able-bodied men (who had withdrawn some distance that they might, with greater advantage, gather together in a body and defend themselves) except Duncan MacIan Mhic Ghillechallum in Killichirtorn, whom the Macdonalds apprehended, and would have killed, had not one of them, formerly his friend and acquaintance, prevailed upon young Glengarry

to save his life, and send him to the Castle of Strome, where he still had a garrison, rather than kill him.

The successful result of this expedition encouraged Angus so much that he began to think fortune had at last turned in his favour, and he set out and called personally upon all the chiefs and leaders of the various branches of the Macdonalds throughout the west, soliciting their assistance against the Mackenzies, which they all agreed to give in the ensuing spring.

This came to Mackenzie's knowledge. He was at the time residing in Islandonain Castle, and, fearing the consequences of such a powerful combination against him, he went privately to Mull by sea to consult his brother-in-law, Maclean of Duart, to whom he told that he had a commission of fire and sword against "the rebels of Glengarry and such as would rise in arms to assist them, and being informed that the Macdonalds near him (Maclean) had combined to join them, and to put him to further trouble, that, therefore, he would not only, as a good subject but as his fast friend, divert these whenever they should rise in arms against him".* Maclean undertook to prevent the assistance of the Macdonalds of Isla, Glencoc, and Ardnarmurchan, by, if necessary, invading their territories, and thus compelling them to protect their own interests at home. It appears that old Glengarry was still anxious to arrange a permanent peace with Mackenzie; but young Angus, restless and turbulent as ever, would not hear of any peaceful settlement, and determined to start at once upon an expedition, from which his father told him, at the time, he had little hopes of his ever returning alive—a forecast which turned out only too true.

Angus, taking advantage of Mackenzie's absence in Mull, gathered, in the latter end of November, as secretly as he could, all the boats and great galleys within his reach, and, with this large fleet, loaded with his followers, passed through the Kyles under silence of night; and, coming to Lochcarron, he sent his followers ashore in the

* Ardintoul MS.

twilight. The inhabitants perceiving them, escaped to the hills, but the Macdonalds slaughtered the aged men who could not escape, and many of the women and children ; seized all the cattle, and drove them to the Island of Slumbay, where their boats lay, which they filled with the carcasses. Before, however, they had fully loaded, the alarm having gone through the districts of Lochalsh and Kintail, some of the natives were seen coming in the direction of Lochcarron. The Macdonalds deemed it prudent to remain no longer, and set out to sea pursued by a shower of arrows by way of a farewell, which, however, had but very little effect, as they were already out of range.

The Kintail men, by the shortest route, now returned to Islandonain, sending twelve of the swiftest of their number across country to Inverinate, where lay, newly built, a twelve-oared galley, which had never been to sea, belonging to Gillecrist MacDhonnachaidh, one of Inverinate's tenants. These heroes made such rapid progress that they were back at the castle with the boat before many of their companions arrived from Lochcarron. During the night they set to work, superintended and encouraged by Mackenzie's lady in person, to make arrangements for going to meet the enemy. The best men were quickly picked out. The lady supplied them with all the materials and necessaries within her reach, handed them the lead and powder with her own hands, and gave them two small pieces of brass ordnance. She ordered Duncan MacGillechriost, a powerful handsome fellow, to take command of the galley in his father's absence, and in eloquent terms charged them all with the honour of her house and her own protection in her husband's absence. This was hardly necessary, for the Kintail men had not yet forgotten the breach of faith committed by Macdonald regarding the recent agreement to cease hostilities for a stated time, and other recent sores. Her ladyship wishing them God-speed, they started on their way rejoicing, and in the best of spirits. She mounted the castle walls, and stood there encouraging them until, by the darkness of the night, she could no longer see them.

On their way towards Kylerhea they met a boat from Lochalsh sent out to inform them of the arrival of the Macdonalds at Kyleakin. Learning this, they cautiously kept their course close to the south side of the loch. It was a calm moonlight night, with occasional slight showers of snow. The tide had already begun to flow, and, judging that the Macdonalds would wait the next turning of the tide, to enable them to get through Kylerhea, the Kintail men, longing for their prey, resolved to advance and meet the enemy. They had not proceeded far, rowing very gently, after placing seaweed in the rowlocks so as not to make a noise, when they noticed a boat rowing at the hardest and coming in their direction ; but from its small size they thought it must have been sent by the Macdonalds in advance to test the passage of Kylerhea. They therefore allowed it to pass unmolested, and proceeded northward, looking for Macdonald's own galley. When they neared the Cailleach, a low rock midway between both Kyles, it was seen in the distance covered with snow. The night also favoured them, the sea, calm, appearing black and mournful to the enemy. Here they met the first galley, and drawing up near it, they soon discovered it to be no other than Macdonald's own great galley, some distance ahead of the rest of the fleet. Macdonald, as soon as he noticed them, called out "Who is there"? twice in succession, but received no answer, and finding the Kintail men drawing nearer he called out the third time, when, in reply, he received a full broadside from Mackenzie's cannon, which disabled his galley and threw her on the Cailleach Rock. The men on board Macdonald's galley thought they had been driven on shore, and flocked to the fore part of the boat, striving to escape, thus capsizing and filling the galley. Discovering their position, and seeing a long stretch of sea lying between them and the mainland, they became quite confused, and were completely at the mercy of their enemies, who sent some of their men ashore to despatch any of the poor wretches who might swim to land, while others remained in the boat killing or drowning the Macdonalds.

Such of them as managed to reach the shore were killed or drowned by those of the Kintail men who went ashore, not a soul out of the sixty men on board the galley having managed to escape, except Angus Macdonald himself, still breathing, though he had been wounded twice in the head and once in the body. He was yet alive when they took him aboard their galley, but he died before the morning. Hearing the uproar, several of the Lochalsh people went out with all speed in two small boats, under the command of Dugall MacMhurchaidh Matthewson, to take part in the fray ; but by the time they arrived few of Macdonald's followers were alive. Thus ended the career of Angus, younger of Glengarry, a warrior to whom his followers looked up, and whom they justly regarded as a bold and intrepid leader, though greatly deficient in prudence and strategy.

The remainder of Macdonald's fleet, to the number of twenty-one, following behind his own galley, having heard the uproar, returned to Kyleakin in such terror and confusion that each thought his nearest neighbour was pursuing him. Landing in Strathardale, they left their boats "and their ill-cooked beef to these hungry gentlemen," and before they slept they arrived in Sleat, from whence they were sent across to the mainland in the small boats of the laird.

The great concern and anxiety of her ladyship of Islandonain can be easily conceived, for all that she had yet learnt was the simple fact that an engagement of some kind had taken place, and this she only knew from having heard the sound of cannon during the night. Early in the morning she noticed her protectors returning with their birlinn, accompanied by another great galley. This brightened her hopes, and going down to the shore to meet them, she heartily saluted them, and asked if all had gone well with them. "Yea, Madam," answered their leader, Duncan MacGillechriost, "we have brought you a new guest, without the loss of a single man, whom we hope is welcome to your ladyship". She looked into the galley, and at once recognising the body of Angus of Glengarry, she ordered it to be carried ashore and properly attended to. The men

proposed that he should be buried in the tomb of his predecessors, "Cnoc nan Aingeal," in Lochalsh ; but this she objected to, observing that, if he could, her husband would never allow a Macdonald, dead or alive, any further possession in that locality, at the same time ordering young Glengarry to be buried with her own children, and such other children of the predecessors of the Mackenzies of Kintail as were buried in Kilduich, saying that she considered it no disparagement for him to be buried with such cousins ; and if it were her own fate to die in Kintail, she would desire to be buried amongst them. The proposal was agreed to, and everything having been got ready suitable for the funeral of a gentleman of his rank—such as the place could afford in the circumstances—he was buried next day in Kilduich, in the same tomb as Mackenzie's own children.

This is not the generally received account of Angus Macdonald's burial ; but we are glad, for the credit of our common humanity, to find the following conclusive testimony in an imperfect but excellently written MS. of the seventeenth century, otherwise remarkably correct and trustworthy :—"Some person, out of what reason I cannot tell, will needs affirm he was buried in the church door, as men go out and in, which to my certain knowledge is a malicious lie, for with my very eyes I have seen his head raised out of the same grave and returned again, wherein there was two small cuts, noways deep."*

After the funeral of young Glengarry, Mackenzie's lady became concerned about her husband's safe return, and was most anxious that he should be advised of the state of matters at home. She therefore despatched Robert Mac Dhomh'uill Uidhir to arrange the safest plan for bringing her lord safely home, as the Macdonalds were still prowling among the creeks and bays further south. He soon after sailed in Maclean's great birlinn, under command of the Captain of Cairnburgh, accompanied by several other gentlemen of the Macleans.

In the meantime, the Macdonalds, aware that Mackenzie

* Ancient MS.

had not yet returned, "convened all the boats and galleys they could, to a certain island which lay in his course, and which he could not avoid passing. So, coming within sight of the island, having a good prospect of a number of boats, after they had ebbed in a certain harbour, and men also, making ready to set out to sea. This occasioned the captain to use a stratagem, and steer directly to the harbour, and still as they came forward he caused lower the sail, which the other party perceiving made them forbear putting out their boats, persuading themselves that it was a galley they expected from Ardnamurchan, but they had no sooner come forgainst the harbour but the captain caused hoist sail, set oars, and steers aside, immediately bangs up a bag-piper and gives them shots. The rest, finding the cheat and their own mistake, made such a hurly-burly setting out their boats, with their haste they broke some of them, and some of themselves were bruised and had broken shins also for their prey, and such as went out whole, perceiving the galley so far off, thought it was folly to pursue her any further, they all returned wiser than they came from home."

"This is, notwithstanding other men's reports, the true and real narration of Glengarrrie Younger his progress, of the Kintail men their meeting him in Kyle Rhea, of my lord's coming from Mull, and of the whole success, which I have heard *verbatim* not only from one but from several that were present at their actings."*

Mackenzie arrived at Islandonain late at night, where he found his lady still entertaining her brave Kintail men after their return from Glengarry's funeral. While not a little concerned about the death of his troublesome relative, he heartily congratulated his gallant retainers on the excellent manner in which they had protected his interests during his absence. Certain that the Macdonalds would never rest satisfied until they had wiped out and revenged the death

* Ancient MS. The authors of the Letterfearn and Ardintoul MSS., give substantially the same account, and say that among those who accompanied Mackenzie to Mull, was "Rory Beg Mackenzie, son to Rory Mòre, of Achiglunichan, Fairburn and Achilty's predecessor, and who afterwards died parson of Contine, from whom my author had the full account of Mackenzie's voyage to Mull."

of their leader, Mackenzie determined if possible to drive them out of the district altogether. The castle of Strome, then in possession of Glengarry, was the greatest obstacle in carrying out this resolution, for it was a good and convenient asylum for the Macdonalds when pursued by Mackenzie and his followers ; but he ultimately succeeded in wresting it from them.

We give the following account of how it was taken, from the Ancient MS., slightly modernising the spelling :—" In the spring of the following year, Lord Kintail gathered together considerable forces and besieged the castle of Strome in Lochcarron, which at first held out very manfully, and would not surrender, though several terms were offered, which he (Mackenzie) finding, not willing to lose his men, resolved to raise the siege for a time ; but the defenders were so unfortunate as to have their powder damaged by the women they had within. Having sent them out by silence of night to draw in water, out of a well that lay just at the entrance of the castle, the silly women were in such fear, and the room they brought the water into being so dark for want of light, when they came in they poured the water into a vat, missing the right one, wherein the few barrels of powder they had lay. And in the morning, when the men came for more powder, having exhausted the supply of the previous day, they found the barrels of powder floating in the vat ; so they began to rail and abuse the poor women, which the fore-mentioned Duncan Mac Ian Mhic Gillechallum, still a prisoner in the castle, hearing, as he was at liberty through the house, having promised and made solemn oath that he would never come out of the door until he was ransomed or otherwise relieved." This he was obliged to do to save his life. But having discovered the accident which befell the powder, he accompanied his keepers to the ramparts of the castle, when he noticed his countrymen packing up their baggage as if intending to raise the siege. Duncan instantly threw his plaid over the head of the man that stood next him, and jumped over the wall on to a large dung heap that stood immediately below.

He was a little stunned, but instantly recovered himself, flew with the fleetness of a deer to Mackenzie's camp, and informed his chief of the state of matters within the stronghold. Kintail renewed the siege and brought his scaling ladders nearer the castle. The defenders seeing this, and knowing that their mishap and consequent plight had been disclosed by Duncan to the enemy, they offered to yield up the castle on condition that their lives would be spared, and that they be allowed to carry away their baggage. This was readily granted them, and "my lord caused presently blow up the house with powder, which remains there in heaps to this day. He lost only but two Kenlochewe men at the siege. Andrew Munro of Teannouher (Novar) was wounded, with two or three others, and so dissolved the camp." Another writer says:—"The rooms are to be seen yet. It stood on a high rock, which extended into the midst of a little bay of the sea westward, which made a harbour or safe port for great boats or vessels of no great burden, on either side of the castle. It was a very convenient place for Alexander Mac Gillespick to dwell in when he had both the countries of Lochalsh and Lochcarron, standing on the very march between both."

In 1603 the Macdonalds of Glengarry, under Allan Dubh MacRanuil of Lundy, made an incursion into the country of Mackenzie, in Brae Ross, plundered the lands of Cillechrist, and ferociously set fire to the church during divine service, when full of men, women, and children, while Glengarry's piper marched round the building cruelly mocking the heartrending wails of the burning women and infants, playing the well-known pibroch, which has been known ever since by the name of "Cilliechrist," as the family tune of the Macdonells. Gregory says, "some of the Macdonalds chiefly concerned in this inhuman outrage were afterwards killed by the Mackenzies; but it is somewhat startling to reflect that this terrible instance of private vengeance should have occurred in the commencement of the seventeenth century, without, so far as we can trace, any public notice being taken of such an enormity. In the

end the disputes between the chiefs of Glengarry and Kintail were amicably settled by an arrangement which gave the Ross-shire lands, so long the subject of dispute, entirely to Mackenzie ; and the hard terms to which Glengarry was obliged to submit in the private quarrel, seemed to have formed the only punishment inflicted on this clan for the cold-blooded atrocity displayed in the memorable raid on Kilchrist." After this the two powerful families continued on friendly terms much to their mutual advantage, and that of the wide district of country over which they held sway.*

Angus, the eldest son, having been killed, and his father, Donald MacAngus, being now very advanced in years, the actual command of the clan fell to the second son, Alexander, known among the Highlanders as "Alastair Dearg". He appears to have been of a much more peaceable disposition than his brother Angus. He also predeceased his father, who being very frail and confined to his bed in his latter years, had, after the death of Alastair Dearg to hand over the actual command of the clan to his grandson Angus, or Æneas (son of Alastair Dearg), who was, in 1660, created Lord Macdonell and Arros.

That Alexander predeceased his father is clearly proved by an order of the Privy Council, dated Edinburgh, 3rd December, 1641, at the instance of William Mackintosh of Torcastle and others, for committing Angus, Donald's grandson, to Edinburgh Castle for refusing to exhibit several of his clan, named in the order, who had murdered Lachlan Mackintosh and William Millar within the burgh of Inverness, upon a Sabbath day named in the criminal letters issued against them. Angus was in Edinburgh at the date of the order, in which he is designed, though his father was still alive, as "the Laird of Glengarie, who is Cheefe Maister landslord to the saids rebells," and who "ought to be answirable for thame, and exhibite thame to

* Abridged from the author's "History and Genealogy of the Clan Mackenzie," where a full account of the burning and "Raid of Cillechriost," will be found pp. 157-162.

justice conforme to the laws of the countrie and severall Acts of Parliament". The applicants pray that the Laird of Glengarry be committed to ward in Edinburgh till the said rebels be exhibited to answer for the said slaughter committed by them, or else to take responsible caution of him to exhibit them "at a certane day vnder great soumes".

After hearing parties the Council decreed as follows:—

"Quhereunto Angus Macdonald oy (*ogha*, or grandson) to the Laird of Glengarie being called to answeyr, and he compeirand this day personally before the saids Lords, together with Lauchlane MacIntosh, brother to the supplicant. And the saids Lords being well and throughlie advised with all that was proponned and alledged be both the saids parteis in this mater. The Lords of Secreit Counseill, in regard of the knowne old age and infirmitie of the *old* Laird of Glengarie being neir ane hundreth yeers of age ; and that the said Angus Macdonald his oy (*ogha*, or grandson) is appearand heir of the estat, hes the management and government yairof, and is followed and acknowledged be the haill tennents of the bounds, and such as hes ane dependence on his goodshir. Therefore they find that he is lyable for exhibition of the rebels foresaids, men tennants and servants, to his said guidshir, as he would have beene if his age did not excuse him. And the said Angus being personallie present as said is, and this sentence being intimate to him, and he ordained to find caution for exhibition of the saids rebels, before the saids Lords in the moneth of Junii next, and to keepe the peace in the meane time, he refused to doe the same ; and therefore the saids Lords ordains him to be committed to waird within the Castell of Edinburgh, therein to remaine upon his owne expenss, ay and whyll he find the said caution, and till he be freed and releevd be the said Lords, and siclyke ordanis lettres of intercommoning to be direct aganis the rebels foresaids."

By an order dated 1st of March, 1642, he is set at liberty "furthe of the Castle," but to continue at open ward within "this Burghe of Edinburghe," Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat having become cautioner for him. He was imprisoned in the Castle for "ye space of 13 weekis or thereby," and, in the order, he is again designed "Angus Macdonald, oy (*ogha* or grandson) to the Laird of Glengarie". This establishes beyond question that Alastair Dearg (as well as Angus Og) predeceased his father, Donald MacAngus MacAlastair, and that, although he commanded the Macdonalds of Glengarry during his father's life-time, he actually never was, and ought not to be reckoned one of the chiefs.

Hitherto we have not met with a single instance where *Macdonell* is used as the family name of Glengarry. It will be observed that during his grandfather's life-time the future Lord Macdonell and Arros was designated Angus *Macdonald*, and the first instance of *Macdonell* as a family name, in connection with Glengarry, is in the patent of nobility granted to the grandson and successor of Donald MacAngus, on the 20th of December, 1660. The name having at that date been assumed, we shall hereafter adopt it in connection with this family.*

We have already seen that Donald's father entered into an agreement with Grant of Freuchy that his son Donald, should marry Grant's daughter, and that Angus suffered seriously in consequence of Donald's refusal to carry out that engagement. She, however, appears to have been living and cohabiting with him in Strome Castle, Lochcarron, probably in accordance with the outrageous custom which then partly prevailed with some, of having their betrothed living with them on probation. The inhabitants of the district looked upon her, erroneously, however, as his lawful wife; and one of the charges made against him before the Privy Council, in 1602, was that "he lived in habitual and constant adultery with the Captain of Clanranald's daughter after he had put away and repudiated Grant's daughter, his married wife.† The author of the oldest Mackenzie MS. extant‡ refers to the same irregularity in the following terms:—"His young lady MacRanald's, or Captain of Clanranald's, daughter whom he had newly brought there (Strome Castle), and had sen away Grant's daughter." This would go far to explain the determination with which Grant decided upon punishing the father, and insisting upon the penalties provided for in the agreement between Grant and old Glengarry, failing

* Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A. Scot., M.P., has, in his possession, two documents signed by Glengarry, both in the year 1660, in one of which he signs "Angus McDonald"; in the other, "Macdonell".

† Letterfearn MS.

‡ The "Ancient" MS. of the Mackenzies.

the due solemnization of the marriage. It is only from this position of parties that any plausible foundation can be found for the charge made by the Clanranald champion in his letters to the *Inverness Journal* in 1818 and 1819, that Alastair Dearg was illegitimate, and that therefore the Glengarry line was in the same position as that alleged in the case of John Moydartach's descendants. For this charge, however, there is no foundation whatever, for it is admitted by all, including Clanranald, that a legitimate marriage had taken place between Donald of Glengarry and the daughter of Allan MacDonald of Clanranald. The only question which could affect that union is a previous legally constituted marriage with Helen Grant of Grant, and that no such union existed has been proved beyond any possibility of doubt. But it is scarcely worth while to discuss seriously the various charges made by the Clanranald champion; for he not only maintains that Donald, first of Scotus, was "Donald of Laggan," but that Alastair Dearg, the undoubted son of Donald MacAngus, and father of Æneas, Lord Macdonell and Arros, was the son of Donald of Scotus—the brother and the son of the same man at the same time. "Regarding Allister Dearg," he says, in his letter of 1st of October, 1819, "I admit he was the son of Donald of Laggan". He has been proved to be the son of Donald MacAngus MacAlastair and brother of Donald first of Scotus, whom Clanranald calls "Donald of Laggan". Contradictory nonsense like this is almost beneath notice, but it was the only possible retreat that the champion of Clanranald could find from the false position which he had assumed; for he himself declares, when taken to task, that he never "attempted to insinuate" that Alastair Dearg's father, the real Donald of Laggan—Donald MacAngus MacAlastair—was not legitimate.

Donald married, first, Margaret, daughter of Allan MacDonald of Moydart, Captain of Clanranald, and granddaughter of the famous John Moydartach, with issue—

1. Alexander, known as "Alastair Dearg," who married Jean, daughter of Allan Cameron, XV. of Lochiel, with

issue—Æneas Macdonell, created a Peer of Scotland as Lord Macdonell and Arros in 1660, and who (Alastair Dearg having died before his father, Donald MacAngus), succeeded his grandfather as chief of Glengarry.

2. Donald, first of Scotus, or Scothouse, who married Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, with issue—Reginald, second of Scotus, who married a daughter of Macleod of Macleod, with issue—"Alastair Dubh" Macdonell (whose father succeeded to Glengarry on the death, without lawful issue, in 1682, of his cousin, Lord Macdonell and Arros), and four other sons, of whom hereafter.

3. John, known as Ian Mor, from whom the family of Ard-na-heare, all of whom emigrated to America.

4. John, or Ian Og, whose descendants also went to America.

He also had a natural son, Angus, by Helen Grant, Freuchy's daughter, killed at Kyleakin by the Mackenzies. He was legitimated by the following Precept, and, had he lived, would probably have succeeded to Glengarry: — "*Preceptum legitimationis Angusij McDonald Vc Angusij bastardi filij naturalis Donaldi Mc Angus de Glengarrie, Reliqua in comuni forma. Apud Halierudhous, decime quinte die mensis Aprilis anno dn'i millessimo quingentesimo octuagesimo quarto. Per Signitum.*"*

Glengarry married, secondly, a daughter of Macdonell of Keppoch. He died at an extreme old age—over a hundred—on Sunday, the 2nd of February 1645, the same day on which Montrose victoriously fought the battle of Inverlochy, aided by the men of Glengarry, under Donald MacAlastair's grandson and successor,

XVI. ÆNEAS MACDONELL,

Ninth of Glengarry, raised to the Scottish Peerage, in 1660, by the title of Lord Macdonell and Arros. We have seen that on the very day on which his grandfather died, the 2d

* Reg. Privy Seal, vol. i., p. 119.

of February, 1645, he had been engaged at the head of his clan with Montrose at the Battle of Inverlochy, his father, Donald, having died a few years previously. On this occasion he was accompanied by his three uncles—Donald, first of Scotus; John Mor, and John Og, all of whom were distinguished warriors, and steady supporters of the Stuarts. Angus Macdonell of Glengarry never left Montrose since he joined him, a young man, at the head of his followers, in 1644, in an expedition to Argyle, on which occasion they devastated and laid the whole of the country waste, and burnt and destroyed everything that came within their reach. From the 13th of December, 1644, till about the middle of January, 1645, they over-ran the country. The slaughter was immense, and before the end of January not a male person was to be seen throughout the entire extent of Argyle and Lorn, “the whole population having been either driven out, or taken refuge in dens and caves known only to themselves”. Glengarry adhered to the great Marquis throughout his distinguished career, Wishart declaring that he “deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose”.

He joined the Earl of Antrim in Ireland in 1647, where his regiment suffered a serious defeat. “When Antrim left Scotland, early in 1647, he brought with him a regiment of Scotch Highlanders, under the command of Angus Macdonald of Glengarry, not so much, perhaps, to employ them against his Irish enemies as to take them out of harm’s way in Scotland, where David Leslie was cutting off in detail the various fragments into which the Royalist forces had separated themselves after their great victory at Kilsyth. This Highland regiment under Glengarry soon got into trouble here also, for on its march to join the Cavanaghs in Wexford, and thus to assist in opposing the Ormondists, it was set upon by a superior force under Sir Thomas Esmond, and entirely defeated. Four hundred of Glengarry’s regiment were killed, with several

officers,"* and the remaining officers, including himself, were taken prisoners.

He was personally present at the meeting held in August, 1653, at Lochearn, to make the arrangements preliminary to Glencairn's expedition, and afterwards joined the Earl with three hundred of his followers. Among those present were the Earl of Athole, Lord Lorne, Lochiel, and several others. Lorne brought 1000 foot and 50 horse, but, in about a fortnight after, on the 1st of January, 1654, he, on some pretence, clandestinely left with his followers, taking the direction of Ruthven Castle, then garisoned by English soldiers, from Cromar, in Badenoch, where Glencairn's army was at the time quartered. Exasperated at Lorne for thus deserting him, Glencairn despatched a party of horse, under Glengarry and Lochiel, to bring Lorne and his followers back, or, in case of refusal, to attack them. Glengarry followed them up so closely that he overtook them within half-a-mile of Ruthven Castle. Lorne escaped with some of his horse, but Glengarry sent a party in pursuit, who overtook them, and brought about twenty of them back prisoners. The foot halted on a hill near the castle, and agreed to return to the camp ; but Glengarry, who had a strong antipathy to the whole Campbell race since the wars of Montrose, determined, contrary to his instructions, to attack them, and would have done so, but for the arrival of Glencairn himself in time to prevent bloodshed, at the same time, however, directing that no proposals should be received from them with arms in their hands ; whereupon they delivered their arms, and Glencairn with some of his officers rode up and addressed them on the impropriety of their conduct. The result was that the Campbells declared their willingness to serve the King and obey Glencairn as commander, a declaration which both officers and men confirmed by a solemn oath ; " but they all deserted within a fortnight."†

* Macdonells of Antrim. Foot-note, p. 334.

† Graham of Deuchrie's Account of Glencairn's Expedition ; and Fullarton's History of the Highland Clans, p. 293.

In 1653 the exiled Charles granted Glengarry the following commission as Major-General :—

“ Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to our trusty and well-beloved Angus Macdonell of Glengarry, and to all others to whom these presentis shall come greeting, know ye that we, reposing trust and confidence in the courage, conduct, and good affection of you, the said Angus Macdonell, doe by these presentis constitute and appoint you to be one of our Major-Generals of such forces of foote as are or shall be levied for our service within our Kingdom of Scotland, giving you hereby power and authority to conduct, order, and command them, in all things for our saide service, according to the lawes and custome of warre, and as belongeth to the power and office of one of oure Major-Generals of foot ; and with the same to fight, kill, slay, and destroy, or otherwise subdue all opposers and enemies who are in present hostility against or not in present obedience to us,” [with the usual authorities, privileges, and rights belonging to Major-Generals, commanding all officers of inferior rank to obey him, while he is to obey all orders and commands from General Middleton, and all others his superior officers.] “ Given at Chantilly, the 31st day of October, 1653, in the fifth yeare of our reigne.”

In 1651, he was forfeited by Oliver Cromwell, for his steady and active support of the Stuarts ; but on the Restoration of Charles II. he was, as already stated, on the 20th of December, 1660, created, as a reward for his faithful services, Lord Macdonell and Arros, in the Peerage of Scotland, the honours being limited to the heirs-male of his body.* He subsequently made a formal claim to the chiefship, not only of the descendants of Reginald, being the whole Clanranalds, but to that of the whole Clاندonald, as male representative of Somerled and Donald de Isla, the common ancestors of the clan.

In 1665, the Macdonalds of Glengarry succeeded in foisting a serious quarrel on the town of Inverness, in which they curiously enough, in the end, managed to obtain the advantage before the Privy Council. The quarrel originated in a very simple manner at a Fair in the town on the 18th of August, 1665, as follows :—“ Upon the hill south of the Castle, the horse market stands ; and there being some women upon the edge of the brae, selling of cheese and bread, ready for such as could not go far to fetch it. One Finlay Dhu, a townsman, taking up a cheese in his hand,

* For Diploma see Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. 60, No. 8.

asked what the rate of it was? This being told him, whether designedly or by negligence, he let the cheese drop out of his hand, and down the hill it runs into the river. The woman told him she would oblige him to pay ; he (a crabbed fellow) gave her cross language of defiance. One that stood bye, espousing the quarrel, held him fast, and took off his bonnet in pledge, until he should pay the woman. A relation of Finlay's challenged this man, as it was none of his concern. 'Yes,' said he, 'I am concerned as a witness, to see just things.' To threatening words they go, and from words to blows, till at length most of the hill market is engaged in a confusion. This alarms the whole town ; the guards are called, who come in arms, and Joe Reed, a pretty man, their captain, runs in betwixt the parties, to separate them. Several other gentlemen present offer their mediation ; but no hearing. Swords are drawn, guns presented, and some wounds given. Provost Alex. Cuthbert is told that his guards are not regarded ; he puts on a steel cap, sword and targe, causes ring the alarm bell, and comes straight to the hill, and many pretty fellows with him. The people cry for justice ; the guards, being oppressed and abused, let off some shot, and two men are killed outright, and above ten wounded. The noise is hushed, and matters examined ; the guard is blamed. The provost, in a fury, said he allowed and avowed what was done ; for, who durst disturb the king's free burgh at a market time? The highlanders keep a-brooding. Two Macdonalds were killed ; one Cameron, and one Philan died of their wounds. The open rupture was closed on both sides with a punctilio of honour ; but a revenge was promised and vowed. A great many gentlemen,—Fraser, Grants and Mackintoshes—offered to compose the matter, calling it chance-medley, and extenuating him that was the cause of the fray. The leading men of the Macdonalds present were addressed by the Magistrates, and civilly treated, with a promise of strict examination, and execution for the blood ; but, alas ! it was *post naufragium*, or, a pardon after execution, as the lost party thought. This

rupture burst out afterwards ; but the unhappy fellow that occasions the fray was shapen for mischief, being marked like a stigma, having one half of his beard white, the other half black ! Meanwhile, the wounded men and the dead corpses were all carried over to this side the Bridge of Ness (*i.e.*, the left bank of the Ness), as an odium to the town. Thomas Fraser of Beaufort concerned himself ; the parishoners of Wardlaw went into the town and transported the corpses to their interment at Kirkhill, very decently, and the other wounded men also that died. Of all which I was an assisting eye-witness."

In consequence of this affair combined with the fact that the town was always friendly toward the Mackintoshes, with whom the Macdonalds of Glengarry were continually at feud, the latter threatened to take ample vengeance on the burgh.

Their threats and boastings had been reported to the Town Council, who wrote to certain noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood for advice and concurrence. These gentlemen promised assistance, and the inhabitants were ordered to provide for able-bodied men, which were to be sent in from the country, for their defence. The Macdonalds, hearing this, proposed the following somewhat cool articles, as the basis of a treaty of peace :—

1. A covenant or bond to pass for entertaining offensive and defensive leagues, by which, if the town be invaded, the Macdonalds should come to assist, and *e contra*, the Town to send 100 men to assist them.
2. The Town to become liable presently in 100,000 merks Scots to them.
3. The town to quit their Superiority of Drakies, and to require no stent taxations.
4. The Council to swear upon oath, what persons did draw the Macdonalds' blood, to be delivered up to *their* mercy.
5. What arms, money, clothes, goods, cattle, &c., were lost, should be repaid to the Macdonalds, as *they* should depone upon the worth.
6. When any Inverness men shall meet Lord Macdonald's friends or followers, or any one of them, that the Inverness men shall immediately lay down their arms on the ground, in token of obedience.
7. The Town to pay what sums the Macdonalds and their people shall have spent, from the time they became a body, until they be disbanded.

To these articles the Council replied, "That upon the

Clandonalds' disbanding, they were willing to give hearing to indifferent (neutral) friends, being conscientious and indifferent men, to speak of such overtures as they found necessary, and expedient to be made use of; for removing hostilities and making a right understanding betwixt them".

The case was afterwards submitted to the Privy Council, and Commissioners were sent to Edinburgh with the following instructions :—

1. Ye are to prosecute that action against the Clandonald with all vigour, before the Lords of the Privy Council.
2. Ye are, with all your main and might, to defend the whole inhabitants of this burgh, from that criminal action intended by the said Macdonalds; and are to use all means possible, for vindication of this burgh, from their aspersions. For the better achievement thereof carry along with you the Town's Great Charter, where ye will find in the 13th line immediately following *insuper* your rights to the mill and hill whereon it was built, called Cannak Hill; together with your contract passed betwixt your town and Robert Waus for Drumdivan. Take along with you also the King's gift to Balquhain of Drumdivan, with his Charter to Robert Waus thereon, with the two Sasines on both.

The documents referred to point out the extent of the Burgh boundaries and privileges.

The case for the Town laid before the Council is as follows, and shows that the parties had old grievances to redress and bitter memories to strengthen their present differences :—

The Town of Inverness having always been cruelly oppressed by neighbouring clans, and in contemplation thereof, King James VI. by his Charter, hath allowed them very large privileges in defending themselves against these oppressions, and empowering their Magistrates to pursue and incarcerate, judge and punish such as shall make any insurrections amongst them, amongst other clans, my Lord Macdonald's (of Glengarry) men, both *in anno* 1641 and 1650, most riotously deformed the guard of the said Town and rescued the prisoners taken by them out of their Tolbooth, and lately in August last the said Town having appointed a guard in the horse-market, and the said guard having apprehended one of the captains of Clan Ranald's men who had committed a riot, whilst they were carrying him to the Tolbooth, they were followed by three of the Lord Macdonald's men, with drawn swords, most injurious threatening, whilst, in the meantime, the remanent part of the guards were invaded by others of the Lord Macdonald's men, and by them beat, wounded, and disarmed; and the said guard being thereafter recruited by other two guards,—one Gilles-

pick Macdonald did wound one of the town's customers in the very middle of all their guards, and having run into his own party and clan who were gathered together, within a musket shot to the said guard, to the number of one hundred or thereby, five of the townsmen did, most civilly, go towards the said company to demand the said Gillespick to be delivered to justice ; but such was the fury of that clan, that they did most violently set upon these five persons, and had murdered them, if the guard and townsmen had not immediately run for their defence, and, notwithstanding of that assistance, the said Macdonalds did most riotously invade the said assistance likewise, and, having loosed many shots, they did, with one of these shots, wound a townsman, and kill one of their own old men, both parties being mixed by the confusion ; and albeit, they wounded many of the townsmen in the said conflict, yet did they thereafter convocate to the number of 700 men or thereby, and sent Angus and John Macdonald to demand of the town, one hundred thousand merks, a league offensive and defensive, the laying down of their arms whenever they should see my Lord Macdonald or any of his friends ; and that in sign of their submission, reparation of all their expenses, since they were convocated to a body ; and some other tyrannous propositions ; and because these were refused, the said ambassadors, as they termed themselves, did, in the public market-place, threaten the people that their army was upon their march, and that they would burn the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword ; whereby the said inhabitants were so affrighted, that most of them removed themselves and goods ; and albeit the Earl of Moray, Sheriff-principal of Inverness, did twice command them to lay their arms down and dissipate, yet they most contemptuously disobeyed ; and when, by the mediation of the Earl of Moray, 77 of their number were met with as commissioners for the rest, the lowest article they would accept of, was 40,000 merks, and the delivery of such townsmen to their mercy as did draw their blood.

By all which it is clear that the Magistrates of Inverness and inhabitants thereof acted nothing in this particular, but in defence of His Majesty's authority, and of their own lives, and, if they had done less, they might have been called in question for their negligence ; and the peace can be very ill secured, if Magistrates must stand still, and see authority trampled upon ; neither can it be thought by any rational man than the Town of Inverness could have any design to meddle with any such clan, except upon necessity ; and all their outrages being proven, as shall be done, if it be not done already, the said Magistrates conceive that all the wrongs, libelled by the said Macdonalds against the said Town, are not relevant, seeing, in effect, anything that was done by them, was done in their own defence, and in defence of the said authority ; and albeit the said libel be raised merely to trouble the said burgh, yet they are most confident that most of the particulars therein libelled cannot be proven, except most suspected witnesses be admitted, who are no way comparable to the probation led, and to be led, by the burgh of Inverness ; the same consisting of famous and

disinterested gentlemen, and the truth of the said proceedings, being attested by the Sheriff of the shire, is notour to all the country.

Whereas it is alleged, that the said Town invaded the said Macdonalds, without (beyond) their privileges, it shall be proven that their privileges extend two miles beyond that place ; and it is a most uncontroverted principle in our law that, Magistrates having begun to follow delinquents within their own territories, may most justly pursue them wherever they flee.

In respect of all which, it is humbly craved that the great loss and vexation of the said Town may be considered, all their trade being hereby destroyed, and the Town being deserted by its inhabitants, and forced yet to keep continual watches ; and that upon these accounts the Council would be pleased to provide for the security of the said place, for the future.

The Macdonalds succeeded in their action, and the Privy Council decerned that the town of Inverness should pay Glengarry £4,800 Scots in name of damages, together with the fees due to the surgeon who attended the wounded Macdonalds.

In 1666, the same Commissioners reported to the Town Council, that they were greatly prejudiced, hindered and crossed, by supplications and cross petitions tendered to the Privy Council, by some ill-affected and malicious neighbours, whereby they pretended and protested, to be free of all personal and pecuniary fines, to be imposed upon the burgh, for that unhappy tumult raised in August last, with the Macdonalds ; whereupon the Town Council resolved—"That the persons, protestors, and complainers to the Privy Council, viz., John Forbes of Culloden, Duncan Forbes, his brother, William Robertson of Inshes, T. Watson, A. Forbes, A. Chisholm, and W. Cumming, being ill-affected burgesses, should not in time to come, be received as Councillors of the Burgh".

There is an Act of the Privy Council, dated at Edinburgh, 18th of July, 1672, ordaining and commanding Glengarry as chief of the name and clan of Macdonald, to be answerable for the peace of the clan, as follows :—

The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, considering that by the Laws and Acts of Parliament of the realm, Chieftannes of Clannes are obliged to find caution for their whole name and Clan, that they shall keep the peace, and exhibit and present them to justice, whenever they shall be called. In prosecu-

tion of which lawes the saides Lordes, ordaines and commandes Aeneas, Lord Macdonald, as chief of the name and clan of Macdonald, to exhibit before the Council, upon the first Tuesday of October next, the persons under-written, viz.—Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch [and 12 others whose names are given], and to find caution for their men, tenants, servants, and indellers upon their lands, rouses, and possessiounes and the hail persons descended of their families, that they shall commit no murder, deforcement of messingers, reiff thefts, receipt of thefts, depredations, open and avowed fyre raisings and deidly feids, and any other deeds contrar to the Acts of Parliament ; with this provision, that the generality of the said band shall not infer against them or their cautioners an obligation to remove from their present possessiounes of such lands possess by them as belongs to the Laird of Mackintosche, they being willing to pay therefor, as the same has been set thes many yeirs bigane ; and until the said day that the said caution be found ; the said Lords ordains the Lord Macdonald to be answerable, and give bonds for the saidis persones that they shall keep the King's peace, and not commit any of the crimes foresaid under the pain of five thousand merks Scottes money. And for the saids persons their further encouragement to compear and give obedience to the saids Lords, ordaines personal protection to be granted to them for the space of twentie days before and twentie days after the said dyet of appearance, not only for civill debtes, but all criminall causes whatsomever.

Those mentioned in the document, besides Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch, appear to be the principal Keppoch tenants, clearly showing that Lord Macdonell was held accountable for those of the clan outside his own immediate followers and vassals on the Glengarry property.

On the 20th of October, 1673, at Annat, a contract of Friendship is entered into between Lord Macdonell and Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, in which they bind themselves and their successors to "honoure, owne, aide, fortifie, concurre with, assist and defend" each other and their kinsmen, friends, defenders, and followers. "Forasmuch as both the saids parties doe seriously consider the ancient love, mutuall friendship and kyndness that have been observed and inviolablie keiped betwixt their antecessors," they proceed to state that "it is contracted, agreed, and condiscendit upon betwixt the parties afternamed, to witt ane noble and potent Lord Aneas Lord McDonell for himself and takeing burden upon him for the name and Clan of McDonalds as Cheeffe and principall man thereof, and for his remanent kinsmen, wassals, dependents and followers, on the ane pairt ; and the verie honourable Duncan

McPherson of Cluny for himself and takeing burden upon him for the heall name of Macphersons and some others *called old Clanchatten* as Cheeffe and principall man thereof on the other pairt.”*

He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, first baronet of Sleat, without issue. He died in 1682, when the representation of the family reverted to Ranald or Reginald Macdonell, eldest son of Donald Macdonell, second son of Donald MacAngus MacAlastair, eighth baron of Glengarry, grandfather and predecessor of Lord Macdonell and Arros, as follows:—Donald Macdonell, second son of Donald MacAngus MacAlastair, eighth of Glengarry, became first of Scotus, or Scothouse, and married Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, whose sister, Margaret, was married to his nephew, Lord Macdonell. By her he had issue—

XVII. RANALD OR REGINALD MACDONELL,

Second of Scotus (alive in 1695), who became tenth of Glengarry, as above, and married a daughter of Macleod of Macleod, with issue—

1. Alastair Dubh Macdonell, his heir and successor.

2. Angus or Æneas, on whom his father settled the lands and barony of Scotus; his eldest brother, Alastair Dubh, succeeding to Glengarry only. His descendants, since 1868, claim to represent the male line, and to have succeeded to the chiefship of Glengarry.

3. John, progenitor of the Macdonells of Lochgarry, who married Helen, daughter of Donald Cameron of Lochiel, with issue—DONALD MACDONELL, II. of Lochgarry, who married Isabella Gordon of Glenlivet, with issue—(1) John, died unmarried; (2) ALEXANDER MACDONELL, III. of Lochgarry; and (3) Peter, who died young. Alexander became a General in the Portuguese service, and married Dona Maria José da Costa, daughter of the tenth Count of Soure, with issue—ANTHONY MACDONELL, IV.

* Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis.

of Lochgarry, who married Cassandra Eliza Macdonald, daughter of Major Ross Darby, and heiress of Angus Macdonald of the Grange, Brompton, with issue—ALEXANDER ANTHONY MACDONELL, V. of Lochgarry, a Colonel in the Indian Army, who married Margaret Jane, daughter of Lachlan Maclean, with issue—(1) ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, VI. and present representative of the family ; (2) Harry Edward ; (3) Sophia Adelaide Hastings ; (4) Flora Lindsay.*

* The following curious note is supplied by a member of the family :—Donald Macdonald of Lochgarry was between 50 and 60 when he fled with Charles Edward to France. He was followed shortly after by his wife, Isabel Gordon, and her three sons. She escaped in the disguise of a clansman from Lochgarry, as the butcher Cumberland and his troops broke through the gates and burnt the old castle to the ground, afterwards seizing and destroying all the surrounding lands. Donald placed his two oldest sons in the Scotch Guard (Ogilvie's), and the youngest in the Swiss Guard. He, himself, continued to live near Charles Edward in Paris, always retaining the full Highland costume, and, from his beauty and martial bearing, was the cynosure of all eyes, even in those days of manliness. On one occasion, while dining in a Paris Café, he overheard seven Frenchmen at a distant table deriding the young Chevalier and the half-clad savages he had brought with him. In an instant his glass was shattered at the head of one, and his dirk thrown in the midst of all. He then and there challenged the seven on the spot, and fought them one by one, killing or wounding all. His eldest son, Colonel John, after the disbanding of the *Garde Ecossaise*, began to pine after his native country, and, without telling his father, made his way to Calais, intending to embark for Great Britain. His father discovered his departure, followed him to Calais, and, finding him, resolved to pronounce on him the famous curse of Lochgarry, which has clung to the race ever since—"My curse on any of my race who puts his foot again on British shore ; my double curse on he, who of my race may submit to the Guelph ; and my deadliest curse on he who may try to regain Lochgarry". He threw his dirk after his son, and turned his back for ever on him he had loved the best. The old man died shortly after, in Paris, of a broken heart, living long enough to hear that Colonel John had made his submission ; had been given a full Colonelcy in the British Army, and the attainder of Lochgarry levied in his favour. His second brother, Alexander, would never consent to incur any of his father's curse, so he entered the Portuguese service, where he lived and died. The full weight of the curse fell on Colonel John, for, when he sought to inhabit Lochgarry, after he had built a beautiful modern mansion on the site of the burnt castle, his fine health began to fail, the strain on his nerves by living, as it were, amongst sounds of another world, or signs, as the tenantry said, "of the *puir old laird's wraith*" being amongst them. The ringing of bells, the knockings at the Hall door by unseen hands, the glimpses of a shadowy figure so haunted him, that he was forced to shut it up, and return to France, where he died shortly after, leaving Lochgarry (being himself unmarried), to his next brother, Alexander (of Portugal) and his heirs. But Alexander never took possession. Lochgarry House remained shut up till his death, in 1812, when his only son, Anthony, was brought from Portugal by his mother (a Portuguese), to enter the British service, and take possession. Neither he nor his young wife were able to continue to inhabit it, owing to the same unearthly sounds. He also died, when only 31, after having, unfortunately, sold Lochgarry, the attainder having barred the entail.

4. Donald ; married, and killed at Killiecrankie ; issue unknown.

5. Archibald, progenitor of the Macdonells of Barrisdale, now extinct in the male line.

Ranald or Reginald Macdonell, II. of Scotus and X. of Glengarry, was succeeded in the latter by his eldest son,

XVIII. ALASTAIR DUBH MACDONELL,

As eleventh of Glengarry. He was one of the most distinguished warriors of his day in the Highlands. We find him and his father among the very first who joined Viscount Dundee in the attempt to restore James II. General Mackay, who commanded the king's troops, wrote to several of the chiefs offering them large bribes with the view of dissociating them from Dundee. Among others addressed was Glengarry, who, in reply, heartily despising the bribe, advised Mackay in return to imitate the conduct of General Monk by restoring King James. Alastair (his father being aged and frail,) joined Dundee "on the appointed day," the 18th of May, 1689, in Lochaber, with 300 of his followers, soon followed by Clanranald, Appin, and Glencoe, with about 400 men between them. Soon after Lochiel arrived at the head of 600, while Keppoch followed with 200 more. From this place Montrose wrote his famous letter, dated Moy, June 23, 1689, to Macleod of Macleod, in which he says "Glengaire gave me account of the subject of a letter he received from you ; I shall only tell yow, that if you hasten not to land your men, I am of opinion you will have little occasion to do the king great service"; so sanguine was he of the prospects of the campaign. The particulars leading up to the Battle of Killiecrankie are sufficiently well-known. In the centre were placed, under Dundee's own immediate command the Macdonells of Glengarry and Clanranald, with the Camerons, an Irish regiment, and a troop of horse, under the command of Sir William Wallace. In the first charge they were met by a brisk fire from some of Mackay's

troops, by which no less than sixteen gentlemen of the Macdonells of Glengarry fell to rise no more. Nothing daunted, however, the Highlanders steadily advanced in face of the enemy's fire, until, having come to close quarters, they made a momentary halt, and having levelled and discharged their pistols, with scarcely any effect, they set up a loud shout and rushed with their claymores right in among the enemy before they had time to fix their bayonets. The result is already known. The enemy fled in utter confusion, thousands of them falling before the tremendous strokes of the double-edged claymores of the Highlanders, by which, in several cases, their bodies were literally cleft in twain. Alastair Dubh, still only Younger of Glengarry, performed feats of valour on this occasion, for which there are few, if any, parallels even among the Highlanders. "At the head of one large battalion towered the stately form of Glengarry, who bore in his hand the royal standard of King James VII."* The same writer describing the gathering in Lochaber on the 18th of May, says that "Macdonald of Glengarry, conspicuous by his dark brow and his lofty stature, came from that great valley where a chain of lakes then unknown to fame, and scarcely set down in maps, is now the daily highway of steam vessels passing and repassing between the Atlantic and the German Ocean. None of the rulers of the mountaineers had a higher sense of his personal dignity, or was more frequently engaged in disputes with other chiefs. He generally affected in his manners and house-keeping a rudeness beyond that of his rude neighbours, and professed to regard the very few luxuries which had then found their way from the civilised parts of the world into the Highlands as signs of the effeminacy and degeneracy of the Gaelic race. But on this occasion he chose to imitate the splendour of Saxon warriors, and rode on horseback before his four hundred plaided clansmen in a steel cuirass and a coat embroidered with gold lace."† The author of the

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. iv., p. 374.

† History of England, vol. iv., pp. 343-345.

"Memoirs of Dundee" informs us that, at the head of his battalion, he "mowed down two men at every stroke with his ponderous two-handed sword". He not only lost his brother Donald and several near relatives, but had also to deplore the death of his son Donald Gorm, so called from his beautiful blue eyes, a youth who had given early proof of prowess worthy of his illustrious ancestors, having on this occasion killed single-handed no less than eighteen of the enemy with his trusty blade.

In August following, the Highlanders suffered a serious defeat at Dunkeld, and losing all faith in their commander, General Cannon, they retired to Blair-Athole, where they entered into a bond of association, to support the cause of King James, and for their own mutual protection, and then returned to their homes. They are to meet at—in "September next," and to bring with them Fencible men—Sir Donald Macdonald, Glengarry, and Benbecula, 200 each, and Keppoch 100, while others were to bring more or less according to their resources. A few days after signing this bond they sent a characteristic answer to a communication from General Mackay, in which he asked them to address the government for such terms as would induce them to lay down their arms. In reply they say, "that you may know the sentiments of men of honour, we declare to you and all the world, we scorn your usurper, and the indemnities of his government; and to save you farther trouble by your frequent invitations, we assure you that we are satisfied our king will take his own time and way to manage his dominions and punish his rebels; and although he should send us no assistance at all, we will die with our swords in our hands before we fail in our loyalty and sworn allegiance to our sovereign." *

General Buchan meanwhile joined Cannon, and the two, finding themselves unable to oppose General Mackay, after wandering for a time through the country, dismissed their few remaining followers. Buchan, Lieutenant Graham, Sir George Barclay, and other officers, retired to Glengarry's

* Parliamentary Records.

residence, where they remained for a considerable time, partaking of his hospitality, and still entertaining some hope, however frail, of the restoration of King James, in whose interest they were prepared to enter upon any service, however hopeless and hazardous. General Cannon and his officers retired with Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, receiving similar treatment from him as those did who went to Glengarry, and entertaining the same hopes of Stuart restoration and courtly favour.

On the 27th of August, 1691, a proclamation was issued by the government promising an indemnity to all who would make their submission and swear allegiance to the government by the first of January, 1692, and all the chiefs, except MacIan of Glencoe, gave in their adherence within the time prescribed. By a special agreement, with the government, Generals Buchan and Cannon, were sent to France, whither, as elsewhere stated, they obtained permission from James to retire, as they could be of no further service to him in their native land.

It is unnecessary to detail at any length the various incidents and the state of feeling prevailing among the Highlanders which, in 1715, culminated in the battle of Sheriffmuir. Alexander of Glengarry was one of those who signed a letter to the Earl of Mar, expressing loyalty to King George, stating that "as we were always ready to follow your directions in serving Queen Anne, so we will now be equally forward to concur with your lordship in faithfully serving King George. The other signatures to this document are Maclean, Lochiel, Keppoch, Sleat, Mackintosh, Fraserdale, Macleod of Contulich, Glenmoriston, Comar, and Cluny. Notwithstanding these professions of loyalty to King George, Glengarry was among the great chiefs who soon after met at the pretended grand hunting match in Braemar, on the 27th of August, 1714, to arrange with Mar as to raising the standard of rebellion in favour of the Chevalier. A warrant for his apprehension, with many others of the Highland chiefs, was issued by the government, but though Sir Donald Macdonald of

Sleat, and several others were apprehended and committed prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, Glengarry escaped capture. He appeared at Sheriffmuir at the head of 500 Glengarry Macdonalds, where he greatly distinguished himself, as did indeed all the Macdonalds, of whom there were nearly 3000 in the field, under the chief command of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat. Patten informs us that "all the line to the right, being of the clans led on by Sir Donald Macdonald's brothers, Glengarry, captain of Clan-Ranald, Sir John Maclean," and several others whom he names, "made a most furious attack, so that in seven or eight minutes we could neither perceive the form of a squadron or battalion of the enemy before us".* Referring to Glengarry, he says: "this gentleman was inferior to none in bravery". After Sheriffmuir the Highlanders retired to the North. On the final suppression of the rebellion, Alexander of Glengarry made his submission to General Cadogan at Inverness, and on the 15th of September, 1725, all his followers peaceably surrendered their arms to General Wade at the barracks of Fort-Augustus, and received pardon for the part they had taken in the rebellion of 1715.

After Sheriffmuir he was created a Peer of Parliament, by the Chevalier St. George, styling himself James VIII. of Scotland, by patent dated 9th of December, 1716. He married first, Anne, daughter of Hugh, Lord Lovat, with issue, an only daughter,

1. Anne, who married Roderick Mackenzie, IV. of Applecross.

He married secondly, Mary, daughter of Kenneth Mor Mackenzie, third Earl of Seaforth, with issue—

2. Donald Gorm who so greatly distinguished himself at Killiecrankie, where he fell gloriously after having killed eighteen of the enemy with his broadsword. He died unmarried.

3. John, who succeeded his father ;

4. Randolph ; and several others.

* History of the Rebellion.

Alastair Dubh Macdonell, one of the most distinguished Chiefs of Glengarry, died in 1724, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

XIX. JOHN MACDONELL,

Twelfth of Glengarry, who obtained a charter to himself and his heirs-male, dated 27th of August, 1724, of the lands of Knoydart, from John, Duke of Argyll, whose grandfather evicted these lands by a legal process from Æneas, Lord Macdonell and Arros. Under this destination the lands of Knoydart descended to his son, Alexander, and on his death, without issue, to his nephew, Duncan, John's grandson—son and next heir of Colonel Æneas Macdonell, John's second son, killed in the streets of Falkirk while in command of two battalions of his clan, who fought gallantly and with effect on the right wing of Prince Charlie's army. Duncan himself took no part in the rebellion of 1745, but his second son, Angus, a youth only nineteen years of age, led two battalions of his retainers to the standard of the Prince, commanded respectively by Lieut-Colonel Macdonell of Lochgarry and Lieut-Colonel Macdonell of Barrisdale, both holding rank under himself.* Alastair, the eldest son, was chosen by the other Highland Chiefs to carry an address to the Prince in France, and signed by their blood. Having missed his Royal Highness, who in the interval started for Scotland, he was taken prisoner, and detained in the Tower of London until after Culloden, though he was at the time an officer in the French

† Amongst many who declared for the Chevalier a cautious policy was adopted. In cases where the head of a family and proprietor of an estate went out, he would previously make over his property to his eldest son, who remained at home in possession. When the father, on the contrary, was averse to active partisanship, a son went out, with all the forces, both in the way of men and money, which the house could contribute, assured that, although the youth shall fall or be attainted, he had still brothers to inherit the patrimonial property for behoof of the family. Some of the Highland gentlemen themselves saw fit to adopt this policy. The Macdonalds of Clanranald and also those of Glengarry, were led out by the sons of their respective chiefs.—Chambers' History of the Rebellion, Foot-note, p. 137.

Guard. The manner in which the Macdonalds of Glengarry distinguished themselves on this occasion by their ancient loyalty and valour is too well known to require extended notice.

We may however be permitted to say that the Glengarry Macdonalds had a share with Macdonald of Tiendrish in the capture of Captain Scott and his party of two companies—the first taken by Prince Charlie's army—near the head of Loch Lochy. In the *Edinburgh Mercury* of 28th October, 1745, we are informed that "Saturday last, his Royal Highness the Prince reviewed the Macdonells of Glengarry at Musselburgh; when they made a most noble appearance," of whom about three hundred were in the Highland army. The rear guard, in the retreat from England, was partly composed of the Glengarry men, where they performed special and very valuable service. On one occasion, at Clifton Hall, they alone completely routed, with great intrepidity, a large body of well-mounted English dragoons. At the battle of Falkirk they along with Clanranald and Keppoch, formed a portion of the first line, where they behaved with characteristic valour. They also formed a part of the front line at Culloden, but in consequence of their removal to the left wing on this occasion, which they not only resented as an indignity, but considered an evil omen—the Macdonalds, it was maintained, never having fought elsewhere than on the right wing, since Bruce accorded them that honourable position at the battle of Bannockburn—they, with the other Macdonalds, refused to charge the enemy. Chambers informs us that "the Duke of Perth, who was stationed amongst them, endeavoured to appease their anger by telling them that, if they fought with their characteristic bravery, they would make the left wing a right, in which case he would assume for ever after the honourable surname of Macdonald. But the insult was not to be expiated by this appeal to clanship. Though induced to discharge their muskets, and even to advance some way, they never made an onset. They endured the fire of the English regiments without flinching; only ex-

pressing their rage by hewing up the heath with their swords; but they at last fled when they saw the other clans give way. "From this conduct there was a brilliant exception in the Chieftain of Keppoch, a man of chivalrous character, and noted for great private worth."* It is not the fact, however, that the Macdonalds invariably fought on the right wing of the army, a well-informed writer in the "Celtic Magazine" [vol. ii., pp. 472-473], *re* the battle of Culloden, says, "one element of disaster to the Highland army existed at Culloden, which had never before previously occurred in modern times, and seems almost of itself to explain the discomfiture of the Highlanders, and that was the conduct of the Macdonalds, who because they were stationed upon the left in place of the right of the line, actually refused to charge, and left the field without striking a single blow for the cause in which they were engaged. Tactically, therefore, the field was lost owing to a large body of the defeated never having fought or attempted to do so, and that not through their having been prevented from engaging by being skilfully cut off from the opportunity of attacking, by the manœuvres of their antagonists, as occurred at Blenheim and elsewhere, but simply by their own misdirected ideas of military etiquette—an idea which seems the more absurd when it is borne in mind that at Killiecrankie the Macdonalds were stationed without hesitation or remonstrance upon the left of the line, where they did right good service. Be this, however, as it may, there is no doubt but that the Macdonalds who had, by their past history proved themselves upon the whole the most brilliant and successful of all the clans, forfeited on this fatal day by their unmeaning prejudices, the prestige which their previous exploits had so deservedly earned. It is also singular that the fact of the Macdonalds having formed the left at Killiecrankie is never once alluded to in all the commentaries and explanatory statements which have been made

* See Keppoch Family for fuller details of this chief's magnificent heroic devotion.

regarding Culloden. The only possible manner of allowing the Macdonalds to drop mildly is a lame one. It is, however, nevertheless true that the defeat, immediately after it had taken place, was not considered by the bulk of the army so fatal and decisive as the Prince's subsequent conduct rendered it; and the Macdonalds believed that they would have had an ample opportunity of rectifying matters at the next fighting day, when, according to one of the clan (*vide* a letter printed at the end of the Lockhart Memoirs), he stated that the Athole men would not refuse them the right on that occasion. The occasion, however, never arrived, and the stain upon the military reputation of the Macdonalds must for ever remain uneffaced, and, looking to their position on the left at Killiecrankie, actually unexplained."

After the irretrievable battle of Culloden, Prince Charles put up for a night in Glengarry's Castle, at the time deserted of its tenants, destitute of furniture and provisions, and in charge of a single domestic, entirely unfit for the accommodation and entertainment of a prince. The family mansion was afterwards, with many others, plundered and burnt to the ground by Cumberland's troops, who inflicted the most atrocious cruelties even on the common people and on helpless women and children. "In many instances the women and children were stripped naked, and left exposed; in some the females were subjected even to more horrible treatment. A great number of men unarmed and inoffensive, including some aged beggars, were shot in the fields and on the mountain-side, rather in the spirit of wantonness than for any definite object."*

John married, first, the only daughter of Colin Mackenzie, IX. of Hilton, with issue—

1. Alastair, his heir.

2. Æneas, a Colonel in the Prince's army, already referred to as the leader of the clan during the campaign of the 'Forty-five. He married Mary Macdonald, daughter of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, with issue—(1) Duncan,

* Chambers' Rebellion.

who succeeded his uncle as XIV. of Glengarry, and of whom presently ; (2) Angusia, who married Mackay of Achamony. Chambers describes the fall of Colonel Æneas Macdonell of Glengarry at Falkirk as follows :—The Highland army lost more this day by an accident than it did on the previous day (in the battle) by the fire of the enemy. A private soldier of the Clanranald regiment had obtained a musket as part of his spoil upon the field of battle. Finding it loaded he was engaged at his lodgings in extracting the shot ; the door was open, and nearly opposite there was a group of officers standing in the street. The man extracted the ball, and then fired off the piece, to clear it in the most expeditious manner of the powder ; but, unfortunately it had been double loaded, and the remaining ball pierced the body of young Glengarry, who was one of the group of bystanders. He soon after died in the arms of his clansmen, begging with his last breath that the man, of whose innocence he was satisfied, might not suffer ; but nothing could restrain the indignation of his friends, who immediately seized the man, and loudly demanded life for life. Young Clanranald would have gladly protected his clansman ; but, certain that any attempt he could make to that effect would only embroil his family in a feud with that of Glengarry, and in the first place, cause that regiment to quit the Prince's army, he was reluctantly obliged to assent to their demand. The man was immediately taken out to the side of a bank wall near the town, and pierced with a volley of bullets. His own father put a shot into his body, from the desire to make his death as instantaneous as possible.*

Glengarry married, secondly, a daughter of John Gordon of Glenbucket, with issue—

3. James, a Captain in the Army, whose daughter, Amelia, married Major Simon Macdonald of Morar.

4. Charles, who joined the old 78th or Fraser Highlanders, as Lieutenant, on the 5th of January, 1757, and distinguished himself under Wolfe in the American War.

* History of the Rebellion.

He soon rose to the rank of captain ; was wounded before Quebec on the 28th of April, 1759, and afterwards mortally wounded at St John's, Newfoundland, in 1762, after having attained the rank of Major in the Army.* If he was ever married, there is no trace of any of his descendants.

5. Helen, who married Ranald Macdonell, fifth of Scotus. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XX. ALASTAIR MACDONELL,

Thirteenth of Glengarry, who in a General Retour, dated 2nd of February, 1758, before the baillies of Inverness and a Respectable Jury, is described :—" Qui Jurati Dicunt magno sacramento interveniente quod quondam Donaldus MacAngus vic Alister de Glengary Attavus Alexandri Macdonell de Glengary latoris de presentium filii quondam Joannis Macdonell de Glengary qui fuit filius demortui Alexandri Macdonell de Glengary qui fuit filius Ronaldi Macdonell de Glengary qui fuit filius Donaldi Macdonell de Scotus, qui fuit filius natu secundus dicti Donaldi MacAngus vic Alister obiit," &c. "Et quod dictus Alexander Macdonell nunc de Glengary est Legitimus et propinquior hæres masculis dicti quondam Donaldi MacAngus vic Alister sui attavi," &c. There is another Retour, of the same date and place, and before the same parties, proceeding ;—" Qui Jurati Dicunt magno sacramento interveniente quod quondam Æneas Dominus Macdonell de Arros filius fratris abavi Alexanderi Macdonell," &c., &c., the same as above, and concluding, "Donaldi Macdonell de Scotus fratri natu secundi Alexandri Macdonell de Glengary patris dicti quondam Æneæ Domini Macdonell de arros obiit," &c. "Et quod dictus Alexander Macdonell nunc de Glengary est legitimus et propinquior hæres masculus dicti quondam Æneæ Domini Macdonell de arros ejus filii fratus abavii." He was, as already stated, chosen by the Highland chiefs to carry an address to Prince Charles, signed

* Fullarton's History of the Highland Regiments.

by their blood, giving assurance of their fidelity, though his father was then living, but advanced in years. On his return he was met and overpowered by two English men-of-war, and after a hot fight he was obliged to surrender ; for, the inflexible attachment and loyalty of the family to the House of Stuart, and his own military talents and influence among the Highlanders being well known to the government, he was kept in the Tower of London till after the 'Forty-five.

He died unmarried in 1761, when he was succeeded by his nephew, the only son of Colonel Æneas Macdonell who fell at Falkirk,

XXI. DUNCAN MACDONELL,

Fourteenth of Glengarry, who married Marjory, daughter of Sir Ludovick Grant, Bart. of Dalvey, with issue—

1. Alastair Ranaldson, his heir.
2. Lewis, a Captain in the Army, who died unmarried.
3. James, afterwards knighted and made a K.C.B. for distinguished services ; became a Lieutenant-General in the Army ; Principal Equerry to the Queen Dowager ; highly distinguished at Maida, Egypt, and Waterloo. He particularly distinguished himself at the defence of Hougomont, where, assisted only by one sergeant of the Guards, he slew or drove back six French Grenadiers, who had found their way into the court-yard. He died, unmarried, in 1857.
4. Angus, who died in infancy.
5. Somerled, died at Curacoa, in the West Indies, unmarried.
6. Elizabeth, who first married 12th March, 1795, William Chisholm of Chisholm, with issue—(1) Alexander William Chisholm, born in 1810 ; (2) Duncan Macdonell Chisholm, both of whom succeeded each other in Strathglass ; (3) Jemima, who married Mr. Chisholm Batten of Aigais and Thornfalcon, with issue.

Elizabeth married, secondly, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Bart. of Balmain.

7. Sibella, who died young.

8. Margaret Isobel, who married Major Downing, killed during the Peninsular War, with issue—one son, George Downing, Captain in the Madras Army, who married Margaret, daughter of Coll Macdonald of Dalness, W.S., by whom he had issue—an only child, Elizabeth Margaret Downing Macdonald, who married Dugald Stuart, eldest son of the late Right Honourable Sir John Stuart of Ballochulish and Lochcarron, Vice-Chancellor.

On the 30th of April, 1788, being legally vested in Glengarry and Knoydart, Duncan made a new destination of his whole estates in favour of certain heirs, of whom his eldest son, explicitly so designed, was the institute. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXII. ALASTAIR RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Fifteenth of Glengarry, who may truly be called the last specimen of the Highland chiefs of history, and is said to have been, in the most favourable features of his character, Scott's original for Fergus MacIvor. It is impossible to chronicle here in detail the various incidents of his remarkable and interesting career. He on all occasions wore the Highland dress, and adhered to the style of living of his ancestors, and, when away from his Highland home, was invariably accompanied by a body of his retainers in full Highland costume. They were at the time generally known as "Glengarry's tail". These were regularly posted as sentinels at his door. He appeared at the grand reception given to George IV. during his visit to Edinburgh in 1822, accompanied by a small but select following of twelve of the leading gentlemen of the House of Glengarry, including his brother, Colonel (afterwards General) Macdonell of Hougomont celebrity, Scotus, Barrisdale, and other leading men. According to the newspaper reports of

the time, "each had a gillie in attendance—tall, raw-boned, swarthy fellows—who, besides the sword and target, carried guns of portentous length. We believe they are chiefly the foresters of the chieftain; and indeed they look as if they had done nothing all their lives, but lived by hunting, and slept in the woods."

His attempts to maintain, in his own peculiar manner, the ancient customs of Highland chieftainship cost him so much that he was forced to burden the estate to an extent which necessitated its transference by his successor to other and strange hands. When visiting his friends in Lochaber, he would march from Invergarry to Fort William in full Highland dress, with eagle feathers in his Glengarry bonnet, "followed by his tail," while Ailean Dall, his family bard, in full professional costume, was prepared with a bardic oration at the end of the journey.

He appears to have had among his tenants a prototype, on a small scale, of *Coinneach Odhar Fiosaiche*—the Brahan Seer—who occasionally indulged in the luxury of predicting future events; and on one occasion he declared that when the high road would be made round a certain well-known hill, the Macdonalds of Glengarry would disappear from the land of their ancestors. Glengarry hearing of the vaticinations of *Alastair a Bhrochdair*—for such was his local designation—sent for him and questioned him about his prediction, but Alastair declined to answer. The chief drew his dirk and threatened instant consequences unless Alastair at once replied to his interrogations. The "prophet"—an old soldier by the bye—coolly answered in his native tongue: "A Mhic 'ic Alastair, cuiribh bhur biodag air a h-ais 'na truail. Bha mise latha dheth mo bheatha, agus thoinnidhinn as 'ur dorn i, agus mar a tha mi 'n diugh, tha mi 'guidhe oirbh na cuiribh thuige mi"—"Glengarry, replace your dirk in its sheath; there was a day in my life when I would twist it out of your fist, and I beseech you even now not to press me unduly." The chief made no further enquiries. Strange to say, the high road was shortly after constructed round that very hill, and

almost immediately thereafter the estate of Glengarry was sold to the stranger.

The friend who supplied this anecdote,* says of Glengarry that with all his eccentricity he was possessed of much reflection and common sense. Captain Duncan Macdonell of Aonach, Glenmoriston, was a great friend and admirer of his chief. The summer before his untimely death, Glengarry went across the intervening hills to Aonach to visit his friend, the Captain, and in the familiar conversation which took place between them, he addressed him thus—"Duncan, I have been thoughtless; I have been, as I thought, sustaining the honour of my ancestors; but now I see that I have been wasting the heritage that generations of them have left me. I must turn over a new leaf, I am determined to do it; I am going south by-and-bye to have this business definitely arranged"; and it was on this very expedition he was going, it is said, when he met with his untimely fate.

On the occasion of King George's visit to Edinburgh, in 1822, Glengarry claimed, as the representative of the Highland chiefs, to be with his "tail" in the king's body guard. This was granted; and it is said that when Sir Walter Scott, who had charge of the programme, proposed to swear in the Glengarry men, he requested the chief to explain to them in their native tongue the nature of the oath, when Glengarry replied, "Never mind, swear them in, I will be responsible for them, and will take my own time to explain to them; I am security for their loyalty".

His impetuous nature often led him to commit many acts which on reflection he bitterly regretted. At a Northern Meeting ball in Inverness, a lady present refused to dance with him. She afterwards danced with Norman Macleod, a grandson of Flora Macdonald, and then a young officer serving at Fort-George. Glengarry towered with rage, insulted Macleod, and caned him. A challenge followed; next morning Glengarry apologised, and offered

* The Rev. Allan Sinclair, M.A., Kenmore.

to do the *amende honorable*. Nothing less, however, would satisfy Macleod than that the haughty chief should undergo similar treatment—a sound caning—at Macleod's hands to what Glengarry inflicted upon him the previous evening. This, in cool blood, was out of the question; a duel with pistols followed, and Macleod was killed. Glengarry was afterwards tried for the offence before the Court of Justiciary at Inverness, and acquitted.

It was he who raised the controversy which raged so warmly in 1818 and 1819 with Clanranald as to the chiefship of the clan, to which we have repeatedly referred.

He married, on the 28th of January, 1802, Rebecca, second daughter of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart., by whom he had issue (with six sons who died young)—

1. Æneas Ranaldson, his heir.

2. Elizabeth, who married Roderick C. Macdonald of Castletirrim, Prince Edward Island, with issue—John Alastair, now a monk in Canada; Emma, who died young; and Elizabeth, a nun.

3. Marsali, who, on the 22nd of October, 1833, married Andrew, fourth son of Andrew Bonar of Kimmerghame, Berwick, with issue—two sons and two daughters.

4. Jemima Rebecca, who on the 5th of July, 1833, married Charles Hay, second son of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo and Fettercairn, Bart., with issue—(1) William Stuart Forbes, who (born 16th of June, 1835) succeeded as 9th Baronet of Monymusk and Pitsligo; now in New Zealand; married, with issue—three sons and four daughters; (2) Alexander Charles (born 15th April, 1837), in holy orders, married, with issue—one son and two daughters; (3) John Stuart (born 28th May, 1849), who joined the American Cavalry, and was killed in action in Montana, U.S.A.; (4) James Edmund Stuart (born in 1851), now in London, unmarried; (5) Emma, and (6) Emilia, both died young in 1849; (7) Elizabeth, who married the Rev. George Digby, without issue; (8) Henrietta, who married the Rev. Walter Hiley, with issue—five sons and three daughters; (9) Adelaide, who married the Rev. Francis

Traill, with issue—one son and two daughters. Mrs. Forbes now resides at Cheltenham.

5. Louisa Christian ; 6. Caroline Hester : both unmarried, and residing in Rothesay.

7. Guilelmina, who married Hugh Brown of Newhall, with issue—two sons, Horatio, and Allan Brown ; the latter in Australia.

8. Euphemia, who died unmarried.

Glengarry was killed on the 14th of January, 1828, attempting to get ashore from the wrecked steamer *Stirling Castle*, at Corran, near Fort-William, when he was succeeded by his only surviving son,

XXIII. ÆNEAS RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Sixteenth of Glengarry, who (born 19th July, 1818) married, on the 18th of December, 1833, Josephine, eldest daughter of William Bennet, grand-niece of the Right Rev. William Bennet, Bishop of Cloyne, with issue—

1. Alastair Ranaldson, his heir.

2. Æneas Robert, born in 1835. He was a distinguished student, having secured the highest prizes at Chatham. He was drowned in the Medway in 1855, in the twentieth year of his age.

3. Charles Ranaldson, who, on the death of his eldest brother, in 1862, became representative of the family.

4. Marsali, who, in 1869, married Hector Frederick Maclean, Edinburgh, without issue. Mrs. Maclean is now the lineal representative of the family, and possesses "Craggan-an-fhithich," with the ruin of the old castle (burnt by Cumberland in 1746) thereon, and the old family burying-ground, with other interesting family relics. These are all that now remain to the modern representatives of Glengarry of the ancient and extensive inheritance of the race.

5. Eliza, who, in 1857, died unmarried, in the 18th year of her age.

6. Helen Rebecca, who, in 1866, married Captain John

Cunninghame of Balgownie, with issue—John Alastair Erskine, born in 1869, and Helen Josephine Erskine. Captain Cunninghame died in 1879.

This chief, who emigrated with his family to Australia, sold the greater part of the property, which was heavily mortgaged when it came into his possession, to the Marquis of Huntly, who, in 1840, sold it to Lord Ward (afterwards Earl of Dudley), for £91,000. His Lordship, in 1860, re-sold it to the late Edward Ellice of Glenquaich, for £120,000. Knoydart, the only remaining portion, was afterwards sold by trustees, when the vast territories of the race of Glengarry passed from them for ever, except the site and ruin of the old castle burnt in 1746, and the family burying ground, the keys of which are held by the present owner, Mrs. Maclean, Edinburgh.

Æneas Ranaldson, who thus sold the property so long inherited by his distinguished ancestors, was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

XXIV. ALASTAIR RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Seventeenth of Glengarry, born in 1834. He died, unmarried, in New Zealand, in 1862, when he was succeeded as representative of the family (his next brother, Æneas Robert, having died in 1855) by his second brother,

XXV. CHARLES RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Eighteenth of Glengarry, born in 1838. He married, in 1865, Agnes Campbell, eldest daughter of Alexander Cassels, without issue. He died, on his way home from New Zealand, in June, 1868, being (failing any descendants of Major Charles Macdonell, youngest son of John Macdonell, twelfth of Glengarry, who emigrated to America, and was killed at Saint John, Newfoundland in 1762), the last male of the line of Glengarry from

Alastair Dubh, son of Ranald II. of Scotus who succeeded to Glengarry on the death of Lord Macdonell and Arros in 1682. Some members of the family maintain that Major Charles Macdonell may have left descendants who have not been satisfactorily accounted for, and therefore they have hitherto abstained from acknowledging the succession of the descendants of Æneas, second son of Reginald II. of Scotus, and brother of Alastair Dubh Macdonell—ancestor of the late Glengarry, as chiefs.

According to this Scotus claim, which has been admitted by the Lyon King at Arms, on the death of Charles Ranaldson Macdonell, eighteenth of Glengarry, 28th of June, 1868, he was succeeded as representative of the family by his remote cousin [for descent see FAMILY OF SCOTUS],

XXVI. ÆNEAS RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Seventh of Scotus, and nineteenth of Glengarry, who died on the 24th of October in the same year ; whereupon (his eldest son, Æneas Ranald, having predeceased him), he was succeeded by his grandson,

XXVII. ÆNEAS RANALD WESTROP MACDONELL,

Born 5th December, 1847, as twentieth representative and present chief of Glengarry. He married, in 1874, Catharine Frances, only daughter of Henry Herries Creed, with issue—

1. Æneas Ranald, his heir, born 8th of August, 1875.
2. Alister Somerled.
3. Marion Lindsay.

THE MACDONALDS OF SCOTUS.

ON the extinction of the direct line of Glengarry from Ranald, eldest son of Donald, first of Scotus, the succession reverted to the representatives of Æneas or Angus, second son of Ranald, second of Scotus, and brother of Alastair Dubh. It has been already stated (p. 343) that, on the succession of Ranald to Glengarry, he settled the barony of Scotus on his second son,

III. ÆNEAS or ANGUS, on whose descendants the representation of Glengarry devolved in 1868, on the extinction of all the male representatives of his brother, Alastair Dubh Macdonell, of Killiecrankie fame. Æneas married a daughter of Sir Norman Macleod, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir.
2. John, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Greenfield, represented by John A. Macdonell, barrister, Toronto, Canada.
3. Allan, whose descendants emigrated to America, where many of them now remain.
4. Alexander, whose representatives are also in America. He was succeeded in Scotus by his eldest son,

IV. DONALD MACDONELL, who married, first, Helen Meldrum of Meldrum, with issue an only daughter—

1. Margaret, who married Alexander Macdonald, VII. of Glenaladale.

He married, secondly, Elizabeth Cumming of Conter, with issue—

2. Ronald, his heir ;
- And, thirdly, Mary Cameron of Glen-Nevis, with issue—
3. Archibald, who became a priest.

Donald was killed at Culloden, when he was succeeded by his only son,

V. RANALD MACDONELL, who married, first, Helen Grant of Glenmoriston, with issue—

1. Æneas, his heir.

He married, secondly, Helen, (who died in June, 1793), daughter of John Macdonell, XII. of Glengarry, with issue—

2. Charles, a Major in the 72d Regiment, married, with issue—an only daughter.

3. Donald, Colonel in the H.E.I.C.S., who married Anne, daughter of Archibald Macdonell of Lochshiel, with issue—(1) Æneas Ronald, advocate, now of Morar, who married Catherine, only daughter of James Sidgreaves of Inglewhite Hall, Lancashire, with issue—Ronald Talbot, James Sidgreaves, Alistair Young Crinan, and an only daughter, Catrina. (2) Donald, a Captain, N.I. of the H.E.I.C.S., who married Frances Eyre, with issue—an only daughter, who died young. (3) Ann, who married Captain Stott, 92nd Regiment, with issue. (4) Catharine, unmarried.

4. John, a Captain, killed in battle, unmarried.

He had also six daughters. On his first marriage, Ranald assigned Scotus to Æneas and his heirs, burdened with a small life-rent to himself. He lived to a great age. Coll Macdonell of Barrisdale in a letter dated, Auchtertyre, 28th of February, 1810, speaks of him as being then 85. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. ÆNEAS MACDONELL, who married a lady celebrated for great personal beauty and accomplishments, Anna, daughter of William Fraser of Culbockie.* By her Æneas of Scotus had issue—

* This lady's mother was also a Macdonell (Margaret, daughter of Macdonell of Ardnabi, a cadet of Glengarry), who married Fraser of Culbockie. She was a good Gaelic poet, and makes a prominent figure in the Ossianic controversy. Bishop John Chisholm, replying to the queries sent him by Sir John Sinclair regarding the Douay MS., refers to her as follows:—"Mrs. Fraser of Culbokie spoke of the manuscript to him on his return to Scotland, and told him she had taught Mr. Farquharson (the compiler of it) to read the Gaelic on his arrival in Scotland, in which his progress in a short time exceeded her own. She likewise had a large collection, of which she read passages to him when he could scarcely understand the Gaelic, and which escaped his memory since; the manuscript was

1. Æneas Ranald, his heir.
2. Angus, who entered the army and died young.
3. Helen Grant, a posthumous child, who married Colonel Kyle of Bingham.

Æneas died at Dunballoch, then called Beauuly-side, on the 9th, and was interred on the 13th, of December, 1792. Mr. Alexander Macdonell of Milnefield, writing to the Laird of Morar on the 27th of that month, says, "I can assure you that his interment was attended by gentlemen and commons, suitable to that attention he would expect if he was to witness that melancholy scene, and they were entertained in an elegant manner".

He was succeeded by his only son,

VII. ÆNEAS RANALD MACDONELL, who entered the Madras Civil Service, and afterwards settled at Cheltenham. The lands were heavily burdened, and his trustees finding it impossible to make both ends meet, though they cleared the glens of their ancient inhabitants and got a considerable rise of rent from the brothers Gillespie, sold Scotus to Glenmoriston early in the century, who however did not long retain it, re-selling the lands to Glengarry, with whose estate they have since been incorporated. He married Juliana Charlotte Wade, daughter of the Archdeacon of Bombay, with issue—

1. Æneas Ranald, who married Emma, daughter of General Briggs, of the H.E.I.C.S., with issue—(1) Æneas Ranald, who succeeded his grandfather as present chief of Glengarry ; (2) John Bird, Lieutenant and Adjutant, 12th Regiment ; (3) Jeanie, who married, in November, 1880, P. H. Chalmers, advocate, Aberdeen, younger son of Charles

in fine large Irish characters, written by Mr. Peter Macdonell, chaplain to Lord Macdonell of Glengarry, after the Restoration, who had taught Mrs. Fraser, and made such a good scholar of her : she called this collection a *Bolg Solair*." Mr. Farquharson, who lived for thirty years in Strathglass, scarcely knew any Gaelic when he went there, but he was greatly assisted in acquiring a knowledge of it by Mrs. Fraser, who was accounted the best Gaelic scholar in that part of the country. She taught him the language grammatically, learnt him to read and write it ; and gave him a very high opinion of Gaelic poetry by the many excellent compositions in that language with which she made him acquainted. Mrs. Fraser's collection was taken to America, but it is not known what afterwards became of it.

Chalmers of Monkshill; (4) Charlotte Lindsay. He married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Dr. Johnson, with issue—(5) Angus.

2. William, V.C., a Judge of the High Court of Culcutta, who married Annie Louisa, daughter of Captain Duff, H.E.I.C.S., with issue—(1) William Fraser, (2) Jeanie, (3) Julia Charlotte, (4) Annie Lindsay, (5) Helen Grant, and (6) Edith Isabella.

3. Thomas Munro, who died without issue.

4. Alexander Kyle.

5. Anna, who married Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, son of the Hon. Hugh Lindsay, grandson of the fifth Earl of Balcarres.

6. Julia Charlotte, who married John Bird, of the Madras Civil Service.

On the death of Charles Ranaldson Macdonell, the last of the male line of Glengarry from Alastair Dubh, eldest son of Ranald, second of Scotus, on the 28th of June 1868, Æneas Ranald Macdonell of Cheltenham, as above, became representative and chief of the ancient House of Glengarry, which see.





